

W The Narrow Way, 8
O R,
Political Maxims,
A N D
CONSIDERATIONS;
Respecting the PRESENT STATE OF
A F F A I R S;
Tending to Dissipate HUMOUROUS
FEARS and JEALOUSIES,
On All Sides; Perswasive of
U N I T Y,
A N D
M O D E R A T I O N:
And not Unworthy the Cognizance (perhaps) of an
House of Commons.

Mulci
*Committunt eadem diversa Crimina Fato:
Ille Crucem, pretium Sceleris, tulit; Hic, Diadema! Juv. Sat. 13.*

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Sugar-Loaf near St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1684.

Political
AND
CONSIDERATIONS
OF THE
AFRICAN
FEELS AND
UNITED
MODERATION
OF THE

1684
tN234

THE

PREFACE

WHOEVER seriously reflects upon the prodigious Growth, and dangerous Predominancy of Treason and Sedition, Faction and Animosity, Jealousie and Distracti^{on}, Passion and Humour, Hatred and Malevolence, Ambition and Avarice, Calumny and Revenge, Fraud and Treachery, Rapine and Extortion, Atheism and Impiety, Luxury and Irreverence, Pride and Beggary, in all Ages, Sexes and Degrees, and the other untoward and flagitious Circumstances of our present Condition; will soon be convinced that nothing less than a *Wisdom* as clear and perfect as *Heaven* ever yet vouchsafed to *Sinful Man*, a *Power* absolute and comprehensive to a *Moral Possibility*, a *Resolution* firm, Spiritely and generous to a Thought, or an Expression, and a *Will* as free, sound, just and spotless as falls within the capacity of *Humane Corruptions*; in a word, then the most wholesome and excellently-temper'd *Constitution* of an *English Parliament*, is an *Authority* competent to rectifie those pernicious Disorders, that, by an uninterrupted course of *Weakness* and *Villany*, are wrought up to a pitch not only of disturbing the *Peace*, but threatening even the *Being* it self of our *British Israel*.

May This, then, be It; and let all good Subjects say, *Amen!* Or rather, (if *Wishes* be Prophetical) This is the very *Parliament* that is endu'd with a double portion of *Spirit* and *Virtue*, above any of the former; and, by a providential Influence upon the Heart of our Gracious *Sovereign*, in a seasonable and auspicious *Minute*, sent to Relieve us: To administer such a comfortable Supply of *Grace* to the Root of the Tree, as may infuse new Strength and

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Vigour into the *whole Body* of it; to secure the *Live and Fruitful Branches*, by lopping off, with an *Ax*, the *Tainted and Rotten ones*; to prevent, by severe and politique *Provisions*, the *Harpies and Scritch-Owls*, the *Clements, Ravillacs, Muncers*, and *Johns à Leyden*, from Nesting any longer in the *Boughs*; and to preserve the *Leaves* from Ruine and Consumption, by just and exemplary proceedings against *Romish Locusts*, and *Phanatique Vermin*.

Now may we safely entertain fresh Hopes of an *Invincible Fence* against *Foreign Frauds* and *Domestique Fars*; for an entire *Healing* of all our *Breaches*, beyond the danger of a *Relapse*, and a *Burial* of *Rancour and Division* in *Eternal Night*, never again to rise up to annoy and infest the *Land*; for a full *Discovery* of the *Mystery of Iniquity*; for a solemn *Exposure* of the *Whore's Face* void of *Paint*, and *Hypocrisie* stript of its *Demure Look* and *Affected Pale-ness*; and a *Distinction*, to a *Hairs-breadth*, of *Piety* from *Pretence*, *Truth* from *Error*, *Zeal* from *Phrenzy*, *Right* from *Wrong*, *Misfortune* from *Maliciousness*, and *Infirmity* from *Design*: For in this *August and Illustrious Assembly*, (which is the *Hope* of the *Good*, and *Terrour* of the *Wicked*, the *Sanctuary* of *Friends*, and *Scourge* of *Enemies*), no *Personal Animosity*, no *Flatteries* to the *People* by being still the *Sharper There* where *They* have taken up an *Odium*, or *Fear* lest by sparing such *Bloud They* may be *Incens'd*, no *Apprehension*, upon the score of a former *Ve-
hemence*, that he cannot be safe while his *Adversary* lives; no scrupulous *Nicety* as if it made against the *Dignity* of a *Parliament* for one by *It* *Impeach'd* of *Treason* to escape with *Life*, nor any *Corruptives* of *Judgment* of the like quality whatsoever, can rightly be presumed an *Ingredient* in any *Mans Sentence*; but *Justice* will flow like a *Stream*, and be dispensed with an *Equal and Impartial Hand*, that all *Delinquents* may *Fear and Dread*, and do no more *Pre-
sumptuously*. Thus shall *Religion* get the upper hand of In-

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Interest and Imposture, and to recover its pristine Lustre and Veneration; Confidence no longer be reckon'd a *Scorn*, Charity Childishness, or Moderation Malignancy; Innocence be rescu'd out of the Jaws of Oppression, and never fall a *Sacrifice* to the Vindictive, the Desperate, or the Profane; nor shall obstinate *Loyalty* again be deem'd a *Crime* or a *Reproach*, but be Reverenc'd for its *Rags* and *Scars*, and, in despite of Malice and Clamour, find *Encouragement* and *Reward*; nor *Faction* and *Bitterness* be able to work any thing to the offence or prejudice of the *Asserters* of the *Government*, as establish'd by *Law*.

BUT, in order to a more close Application to the *Business* in hand, it may not be amiss, perhaps, previously to observe that *Prosperity* is the *Lamp* of the *Mind*; that Arguments of weight are in no respect so valuable, as for their *Clearness*; *Obscurity* questioning their *Sincerity*, and lessening their *Esteem*; that a *Sense* and *Maintenance* State a *Round Period*, and a *Lucy* in *Calende*; are *above* the *Consideration*, as out of the *Sphere* of Ordinary Capacities; that there is a vast difference betwixt walking securely upon the *Even Path* of *Truth*, and blundering anxiously along the *Craggy Precipices* of *Error* and *Delusion*; and that *Equity* is the *Life* and *End* of *Reason*, *That*, of *True Policy*, and *This* again, of *Real Profit*; contrary to the *Smatterings* of some *State-Empricks*, who will allow nothing to be *Advantageous* but that only which cramps the *Coffer*, or *Majesty* and *Providence* but *Rapine* and *Tyrannical Outrage*. If, now, in the ensuing *Rhapsodie* of *Speculative Hints* and *Notions*, there shall occur any *Passage* that, either for the *Matter* or *Management* of it, may be accounted worthy of *Note*, or capable of bearing the *Test* of a strict *Censure*, it is but just to pronounce it a *Transcript* of the *Symmetrical* and *Methodique Actions* and *Conceptions* of our most Excellent Prince,

then

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then *whom*, never yet has *Political Providence* found a greater *Master*, or more indulgent *Patron*. Beside that no *Subjects* were ever so much indebted to any *Government*, as we are to the *Justice* of *His*, could we once be brought to a due sense of our *Felicity*; for He has violently taken none of our *Oxen* from the *Plow*, *Herd* from the *Stall*, *Beds* from under the *Widow* and *Orphan*, nor levy'd *Assessments* with a *strong Hand*, and *Troops* of *Horse*; but, on the contrary, Retriev'd us from as miserable a *Thralldom* and *Oppression*, as the *Divine Vengeance* ever yet inflict'd upon a *Rebellious Wantonness*, and sed us with the Bread of *Peace* and *Plenty* to so liberal a degree, as to raise in us *Luxurious* and *Ungrateful Admurrings* against the *Moderate Author* of all our *Worldly Comforts*: So *Natural* (we see) it is for a *Good King*, to take care of his *People*, and for *Them* to be Unmindful of their *Obligations*! — This is a *Grave Subject*; but I am unwilling to press too much upon the *Reader's* patience: and therefore, for the *Rest*, shall now refer him to the *Book* it self.

ERRATA.

Page 3. line 13. for *Unthankful* r. *Ungrateful*, p. 7. l. 32. for *Principal* r. *Practical*, p. 14. l. 23. after *re*, r. *his*, p. 16. l. 92. r. *Marrow*, p. 26. l. 17. r. *his* *Diffinitions*, p. 32. l. 29. r. of, p. 48. l. 27. r. *Cage*, & l. ult. r. *Dominion*, p. 47. l. 17. *quiet* r. *quint*, p. 54. l. 27. *Peculiar* r. *Pecuniary*.

[C]

THE
Narrow Way, &c.

The INTRODUCTION.



MAN, a Family, and a Commonwealth, are the three main Things comprehended under the Ratio of Government: to that the Political Art consists of three Branches; Morality, which relates to *Personal Deemeanour*; Oeconomy, concern'd in the Regulation of a House; and Reason of State, which influences in the Administration of *Publick Affairs*.

The two first are of *Private Regard*, as being employ'd about *Propriety*, *Domestick Matters*, &c. but the last is of *Common and General Prospect*. Now in each of them there is a Gradation of Proximity; for Man refers to a Family, and that again, to a City. Nay they have an immediate Dependence upon one Another, *Ethicks* being Essential to *Oeconomy*, and that to *Policy*. But yet *Policy* is the most excellent, as including within it self the other two; and it may be divided into *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, and *Democracy*. In the first of these, the *Supreme Authority* is invested in a *Single Person*; in a few of the *Nobility*, in the second; and the third fixes it in a *Number of the Populace*. Reason and Experience have ever justly preferr'd *Monarchy* to the Other: and since Providence has blest Us with this Form, it shall be the Business of the ensuing *Treatise* to make the best on't, by exhibiting *Prudential Rules*, for the *Institution of a Happy Prince*.

IN Pursuance of this my *Purpose*, I shall previously observe to you, that *Policy* (or, in the *modern Dialect*, *Reason of State*) is chiefly supported upon these three Principles, *Council*, *Strength* and *Reputation*; which are so absolutely necessary to the completing of a *Worthy Prince*, that his *Felicity* ever runs *Parallel* to the Proportion of these *Dispensations*. As to *Council*, it is an *Innate Light* of the *Mind*, that instructs him in the *Right Use* of the *Instruments of Government*; which then the *Intellect* approves of, when they aptly work to the *End* propounded. *Strength* is the *Result* of a *Complication* of these five *Particulars*; *Affectionate Loyalty*, *Munificence*, *Tranquility*, *Arms*, and *Treasure*; a *Concurrence* of all *These* do render a *Prince* truly *Glorious*. And then for *Reputation*, it is the *Effect* of an *Illustrious Character*, acquired by the *Fame* of *Wisdom*, and *Military Accomplishments*, spread over *Foreign Countries*. Of these three *Points*, in *Order*, and at *Large*.

PART I.

Of the First Principle of Political Reason.

CHAP. I.

TO Begin with *Natural Abilities*: The *Princes* *COUNCIL* may be considered under a *Twofold* *Notion*; *Inwardly*, when it is the *Legitimate Issue* of his *Own Breast*; and *Outwardly*, if it proceed from his *Ministers*, whom (for their *Wisdom* and *Experience*) he has *Authorized* to advise him, upon *Exigencies of State*. Now there are *Three Springs*, (as it were), from whence this *Inward Council* flows; *Nature*, *Education* and *Practice*; But *Nature* is the most *Considerable*; because it infuses This *Promogeneous Light* (or *Hability*) in a *Proportion* *Commensurate*, and adapted to the *Quality* of the *Temperament*. From this *Fountain* do issue the *Primary Emotions* of the *Mind*, and the first *Stroaks* and *Lineaments* of the *Manners*: For the *Body* being the *Subject* of the *Operations* of the *Soul*, there must (in *Consequence*) be a *Generation* of such *Inclinations* and *Affecti- ons*, as the *Propriety* of the *Disposition* does exert. Nay of such *Inestimable Import* is this *Gift of Nature*, that without it, all the *Helps*

Helps and Advantages of the most *Liberal Education*, can never be of any great *Avail*.

NOW where there is in a Prince an Impotent *Predominancy* of any of the *Four Capital Humours*, it either renders him wholly *Unfit to Govern*, or else exposes him to Afflictions and Misery in his *Reign*. The *Sanguine Complexion* is the Best, if lightly *Tinctur'd* with *Melancholy*, to qualify the boiling Agitation of the *Blood*. A Prince thus Constituted, displays a Majestick Gracefulness in his *Port* and *Aspect*; is Temperate, Magnanimous, Indulgent, Docile, Prudent, and an Encourager of *Learning* and *Virtue*. But the Contrary to this (and the worst of all for a Magistrate) is a *superabundance of Flegm*, which suits better with *Subjection* than with *Sovereignty*; as making a man Improvident, Unthankful, Distrustful, an Enemy to *Order* and to the *Publick weal*. A Potency of *Tellow Choller* has its Benefits and Inconveniences. It too much exposes to the *Vicissitudinary Flux of Humours*; subjects that awful *Grandure* which ought to be inseparable from a Monarch, to *Contempt*, through *Facility*; and debauches, his *Attribute of Invincible Gravity*, into an Abject, Ignoble Levity. *Black Choler* composes the Visage to a Figure of *Severity* rather than of *Majesty*; and does not so much dispose to *Virtue*, as harden against *Vice*. A *Spirit* Generous and full of *Clemency*, is not to be hop'd for in *Melancholy*; but yet it often produces *Thriftiness*, *Ingenuity*, *Closeness*, and a Commendable *Patience* of the *Cares* of Government.

ALL Politicians do agree, that the *Impulses* of these several *Dispositions*, are in a great measure *Irresistible*; and therefore have entertain'd the Observation of them as a *Rule* by which to square their *Judgments* and *Characters* of *Princes*. But this I dare avow, That the *Prefages* thus inferred, have very often been *Confuted*, by the *Powerful Influence* that *Reason* and *Good Nurture* have upon the *Passions*: For these are capable, in a high Degree of *Correcting* and *Improving Natural Imperfections*; *Lessons of Instruction* being *Natures Physick*.

CHAP. II.

Of the *Acquired Parts* that Qualifie a Prince
for *Internal Council*.

AS to the *Acquired Abilities*, Education is the *Chief* of them ; it being the *Source* of *Virtue* and *Vice*, and the *mediate Cause* of humane *Felicity*. This it is that preserves the *Youth* and *Vigour*, or hastens the *Autumn* of *Kingdoms* and *Empires* ; either flushing them with *Victories* and *Successes*, or exposing them to the *Fury* of an insulting *Conqueror*. Let but *this* be *right*, and it proves a *Mother* to *Morality*, and a *Nurse* to *Equity* ; and a *Concurrence* of both these *Virtues*, renders a *State* *Flourishing* and *Considerable* in the *Eye* of the *World*.

A PRINCE of an *Heroick Mind* is a *Supreme Blessing*, and an invincible *Bulwark*, to a *Commonwealth* : for by his *Example* the *People* are allured into a *Love* of *Goodness*, and into the *Practice* of *Martial Exercises* ; making the *Toys* of the *Helm*, (whilst he steers it) by an affectionate *Obedience*, to be both *Delightful* and *Glorious*. Now by *Education* I understand an *Accurate Culture* of the *Mind* ; which when it is skilfully improved, will become a *Rule* to *Reason*, a *Bridle* to the *Passions*, and the *Lustre* and *Ornament* of the *Body*. This *Education* that (like *Spirits*) animates the most *Doltish* and *Stupid*, cannot but have wonderful *Effect* upon the lively *Temper* of a *Prince* ; who, if *Uncultivated*, proves the *Corruption* of a *State*, the *Bane* of *Government* ; and instead of a watchful *Shepherd*, an *Indulgent Father*, becomes a *Ravenous* and *Devouring Wolf* to his *People*. By this *Means* a *Monstrous Nero* came into the *World* ; and *Michael the Third* (*Emperor* of the *East*) suck'd his *Poison* from a *Wicked Master* and a *Vicious Friend*.

THREE things are therefore mainly requisite in this *Point*, a *Wife*, well-manner'd *Tutor* in his *Childhood* ; in his *Youth*, a *Venerable Guardian* ; and in both *Seasons*, an *Exercise* that is *Manly*, *Arduous*, and *Befitting* a *Prince*. *Alexander* was plac'd under the *Tuition* of *Aristotle* ; *Adrian* under *Plutarch*, and *Charles the Great* under *Albinus*. Let his *Companions* also be *Sober* and *Honest* ; and he must have a *General Knowledge*, an *Insight* into all things. But I would

would have him be particularly careful in advancing his *Ministers*, according to their *Merit*, and *Quality*. For although his *Benevolence* should be *Universal*, and extend to *All*; yet will it behove him to fix a *Mark of Honour* upon *Particular Persons*, and to distinguish them according to their proper *Worth* and *Condition*. Even in the *Celestial Hierarchy* it self, there is not an *Equality of Privilege*; for the *Stations* of *some* are *Higher*, of *others* *Lower*; *Some* have greater *Power* and *Authority*, *Others* less.

AS to the *Books* that are fit for a *Prince* to Read, I reckon those in the *First Place*, that do exhibit the *Illustrious Actions* and *Achievements* of his *Ancestors*, and of his *Subjects*: and in the *Next*, the *Histories* of *Foreign Countries*: for the *Future* may be guest at by the *Knowledge* of the *Past*; and his *Instruction* ought to be such, as may fortifie him against the *Strokes* of *Fortune*, and against all *Contingences*, by the Assistance of his *Reason*, which may teach him either how to *Prevent* or to *bear* them. The Study of *Moral Philosophy* is both *Profitable* and *Necessary*, as instructing how to *Regulate* his *Life*, and to *distribute* prudently his *Favours* and *Benefits*. *Seneca* would have him to be the *Touchstone* of *Truth*, in things both *Divine* and *Humane*; and to have continually before his *Eyes* *Examples* of *Justice*, *Piety*, and the rest of the *Virtnes*, (that are linck'd together by a *Sacred* and *Indissoluble Bond*) with which a *Princes Breast* ought to be enrich'd. If his *Youth* be well season'd with *Moral Precepts*; for the *Rational Part* of *Philosophy*, 'tis enough if he do but *Talk*, and *Reverence* it: For *Constancy*, *Faith* and *Equity*, are his *Essential Qualifications*; and the rest of the *Sciences* may render him *Elegant* perhaps and *Witty*; but these I account *Superstitions* in him, because we are to consider him as a *Prince*, not a *Rhetorician*, as a *Cesar*, not a *Cicero*. But above all things, the *Maxims* of *Policy*, and the *Excellencies* of *Government*, ought to be diligently inculcated; in Order to the provoking in him an *Emulation* of the great *Exploits* of his *Predecessors*, and rendering him solicitous of his *Subjects Welfare*, firm against the *Shocks* of *Adversity*, and a *Contemner* of all *Perils* for the *Good* of the *Commonwealth*. Now it cannot be deny'd, but the *Sciences* do adorn the *Mind*; and yet nevertheless, it is a *Weakness* in a *Prince* wholly to resign himself up to the Study of them; because *His Work* is an *Art* that goes by *Rule* and *Compass*, more than by *Speculation*, and that's his surest *Chard*, that is drawn from *Experience*, the *Writings* of able *States-men*, and the *Lives* of those great *Monarchs*, whose *Reigns* have been *Happy* and *Glori-*

ous. Those are *Lessons* fit for a *Prince*, that teach him how to behave himself, and to Govern his *People* with *Justice* and *Moderation*.

THE *third Qualification* for *Imperial Council*, (and the *Second* of the *Acquired*) is *Experience*: and this is (in Truth) the very *Light* of the *Mind*, the *Mother* of *Prudence*, and the *Rule* of the *Will*: for without it, there can neither be *Good Counsel* at *Home*, or *Victory* abroad; for a *Raw* man is not able to judge aright of the *Distempers* of the *State*, nor how to accommodate *Remedies* either in *Season* or *Proportion*: And it is an unpardonable Error in a *Physician*, to administer *slight Medicines* in *Chronical Diseases*; or on the *Contrary*. Now *Experience* is to be consider'd in a *double Regard*; *publickly*, as it proceeds from the *Knowledge* of the *Past Times*, and the *Observation* of the *Events* of great *Enterprizes*; and of the *Causes* of important *Revolutions*; or *Privately*, if it be collected from the several *Accidents* and *Misfortunes* of *particular Persons*. The *Second* is so *Dark* and *Confused*, that it is not of any great *Value*, without the *former*; because the *Life* of man is so *short*, that of it self it is not sufficient to compleat a *Perfect Experience*: Beside that it is commonly purchas'd at a *Dear Rate*; as not knowing how to promote it self, but at the *Price* of other mens *Ruine*; to step forward, but by *Slips* and *Errours*; or to advance wisely, without first going *Backward*. But when both these are joyn'd together, the *Effect* of them is *Prudence*, and a *Graceful Address* and *Dexterity* in all *Undertakings*. That which I call the *Experience* of *Time*, may be distributed into three *Parts*. In the *First*, a man learns how to govern himself, in the *Second*, he studies the laudable *Discharge* of *Publick Offices*; and the *Third* (under the Title of *History*) brings him acquainted with the *Acts* and *Atchievements* of the *Ancients*; whose *Virtues* are recorded for the *Instruction* of *Posterity*. For *Princes*, though they be above the *Fear* of any mortal *Power*, are yet corrected and reproved by the *Dead*; and a *Paper* will speak out, when *Tongues* are obliged to *Silence*. *Historical Events* are as *Presidents* to present and future *Agers*: And he that is the *best-read* in them, is commonly accounted the *ablest* man. The *Root* of *Experience* is certainly the *Observation* of *particular Accidents*; but then it flourishes much more eminently in him, that has added all the *Occurrences* and *Transactions* in *Story*, to his own *private Observations*: for a *Studious Reader* of *Annals* and *Antiquities*, is the *Scholar* of *Prudence*; and he that is excellently well vers'd in them, is a *Master* of it. A brief *Recapitulation* of many things is termed *Historie*; and a *Wise* man will soberly deli-

deliberate upon it; and make a good Use of it. Now the *Foundation of Right Administration*, is *Wisdom*; which being nourish'd by the *Precepts of Learned men*, and quicken'd by *brave Examples*, becomes the great *Mistress of sound Policy*. *History* and good *Conversation* supply the *Defects of Nature*; present to a *Man's View* the several *Countries of the World*; sitting him for all *Times*; to contemplate the *Past*, and to provide for the *Future*. This it is that sharpens the *Wit*, cherishes the *Genius*, clears and enlightens the *Mind*, enriches the *Memory*, enlivens the *stupid*, foollifies the *intrigable*; qualifying them for all *Employments*; as well *Civil* as *Military*; pushes on *Generous Spirits* to an eager pursuit after *Glory*; through all *Hazards* and *Difficulties*; and being equally void of *Fear* and *Affection*, it speaks out *that* which no *Tongue* durst utter; engaging both *Authority* and *Reverence* in *publick Administrations*. Many men, by the single *Knowledge of Times* only, have been capacitated to give *Law* to *Countries* and *Nations*; and even those that have been but little acquainted with the *Practick Part of Policy*, have been the *Authors of Excellent Civil Institutions*. How Eminent in this Particular, was *Draco* among the *Athenians*; *Zepirus*, *Zaleucus* and *Cordona* among the *Carthaginians*; *Philolaus* in *Thebes*; *Andronodorus* in *Caledon*, and *Protagoras* among the *Thurians*! But yet a truly *Wise man* joyns both sorts together, and furnishes himself as well with *Private*, as *Common Experiments*. Such are those two illustrious *Lights of Greece*, and *Masters of the Civil Law* (*C. Lycurgus* and *Solon*) reported to be; who Establish'd the *Empire* and *Government* of their Country upon so just, and sure a *Foundation*, that it flourish'd for the space of *Eight Hundred years*. Nay of so ripe and sound a *Judgment* were these *Great Men*, that to them we stand indebted, in a great measure, for the *Laws* and *Policies* that have since been entertained in the several *Countries* of all the *Civiliz'd parts of the World*. Now a *Prince* may attain to both these *Kinds of Experience*, by reading *History*, by the *Principal Exercise of Dominion*, and by the *Converse of Learned Men*. But there is a great deal of Difference now betwixt a *Dead* and a *Living Historian*; the *One* may indeed be heard, though he be *Dumb*, and yet cannot be answer to a *Question*; and his inculcating all things lavishly to all *Men*, hinders not, but that he may (through not understanding him) be *niggardly to Lou*; whereas the *Other*, upon any doubt, is able to explain himself, and resolve you in whatever you shall ask of him: Here you may be instructed in things that you are ignorant of, and quench your *Thirst* after *Wisdom* at a *Living Fountain*. A *Prince* ought

ought to hold such men as these in great Esteem; As the Emperor
Adrian had *Dionysius the Historiographer*, whose Works made him a
Companion for the Gracians of the *Cæsars*; and his *Exile* affixed his
Name to the greatest Honours. *Hannibal* and *Calpurnius* were wont
to say, that *Private Experience* was to be preferred to *Fortune*: For
that this is the *Stipendium* of *Prudence*; but the *Oaken* the Parents of
Wisdom, and a *Mistress* ever at hand. *Philosophy* would have found
but Cold Encouragements in the World; and have been accounted al-
most Unserviceable to *Prudence*, had it not been Patroniz'd by *Alexan-
der*, and the *Cæsars*, the mixture of which *Virtues* and *Wits*, af-
fords us a lively Image and Representation of the Condition of *Hu-
man Life*. Had the *Memory* of the Ancient Heroes been buried in
Oblivion, there would have been but little Matter for *Perseus*
to *Honour* and *Godness*: Nay, the laudable Duration of things
would have perished, and become unprofitable, through an Ignorance
of the *Pricks* and *Jealousies* of them; and many *Perseus*es be-
halfless of the Means of recommending themselves to the
Favour of *Power*, and well acquainted with the

CHAPTER III

Of the Qualities necessary for the External Council of a Prince.

HAVING thus delivered my Test concerning the *Parts and Abilities* arising from *Nature, Education and Experience*, and requisite for the *Corroborating a Prince's Judgment*; or capacitating him for *Imperial Counsel*; which was the Subject I purposed to Treat of: I shall proceed to handle the *Points of Qualifications* necessary for his *Imperial Counsel*, or that which comes from his *Ministers*. Now *External Counsel* leans principally upon these *Three* things; *Reason, Prudence and Authority*; *Reason* brings a *Proposition* to the Test, by *Prudence*, and then *Authorizes* it, to the *Honour* of the *Principles*. *Authority* makes *Profit* to be the *End of Council*; others the *Publick Good*: but I am of Opinion, that the *proper End* of it, ought to be *Honest and Beneficial*. It is a Mark of *Prudence* and *Good Temper*, the giving heed to the *Advisers of Wise and Loyal Men*. But yet a *Prince*, the less able he is of himself to manage *Affairs of State*, the more *Gross* and *Numerous* will be his *Er-*

ours and Miscarriages. For 'tis a Great good *Fortune*, if he form
 not his *Council*, of Men as weak as himself: and then all falls to
Confusion, as soon as there arises a *Faction* bold enough to attempt
 the *Subversion* of the *Government*. Nay, tho' he be furnished with
Ministers both *Trusty* and *Able* to support the *State*; yet what will
 all this signify in the Case of a *Sottish*, *Self-will'd Prince*, who
 will not be prevail'd upon, to Command the *Execution* of any
 wholeſom *Projects* and *Deliberations*? *Envy* and *Discord* doe com-
 monly tread upon the Heel of *Promotion*; even among the *Ministers* of
 the Greatest *Monarchs*: and then *Self-Interest* Rules every where;
 and the *General Good* is but little regarded, by such as lie upon the
Catch for a *Wind-fall* to their own Advantage; and that through
 the most *Impervious Cliffs*, and *Crooked Turnings* and *Windings*, do
 hotly pursue the *Scent* of *Filthy Lucre*. How is it possible that any
Commonwealth should thrive and flourish, where those *Councils*
 that are the most *Profitable* to it, are still discouraged and rejected?
 So that if he has not *Stomach* enough to restrain the *Clashings* and
Exorbitances of his *Officers*, nor *subtlety* to pierce into the Bottom and
Drift of their *Practices* and *Designs*; his *Council* is so far from ren-
 dering him *Glorious*, that they are many times content to see him
 betray'd and overthrown by a *Rebellious Violence*. Nay even the best
Council, in the hands of a *Feeble Prince*, becomes *Feeble* also; and
 then, such a one can never be *reviv'd* by his *Ministers*, as he ought
 to be; because *Respect* is rarely to be found there, where *Deſision* has
 taken place. And a *Discovery* of *Natural Imperfections* first produ-
 ces *Contempt*, and then *Disgrace*; which is also follow'd with
Treachery; it being hard to be *True* to any one, whom we have ta-
 ken up a *Hatred* against. Besides that, *Deep* and *Haughty* men will
 disdain to *Truckle* and *Crouch* to a *Dolt*, that is wholly unwor-
 thy of his *Regalities*; because *Reason* soars most above the pitch of
Mortality, and is not to be reduced under the *Command* of *Folly*,
 but by *Violence*. True it is, that the *Head* of a *Sovereign* wears
 the *Crown*; but yet the *Principal Support* of it is *Wisdom*. And
 the Reason why *Princes* do commonly malign the most *Capacious*
Souls, is, because the *Mind* being the better Part of *Man*, and the
 only thing wherein a *Subject* may excell his *Sovereign*; they there-
 fore endeavour to be accounted as much *Superiour* to their People
 in the *Dignities* and *Perfections* of it, as they are in *Power* and *Au-
 thority*. Many *Princes* have got into the *Throne*, by the *Hatred*
 and *Emulation* of *Great Men*: And since by the impulse of *Nature*,
 even *Breves* themselves do bear particular *Regard* to those among

them that are of the Clearest *Instinct* and *Vigour*; it seems but just, that we should pay a deference to such as are Wiser, and more considerable than our selves. And yet such Mortal Enemies are a great many to this most Valuable of Blessings, Wisdom; that rather than be beholden to *Prudence* for the saving of their Lives; they will not stick to sacrifice them to the suggestions of *Passion* and *Ignorance*. The *Understanding* is the glorious Faculty of the *Soul*; and it is more than Brutal to slight the bravest *Spirits*, and the Noblest *Accomplishments*. In persons of equal Abilities, there is a common claim to *Eminence*: but if there chance to start up amongst them a *Mind* that is Super-excellently Rich and Illustrious, it is certain to bear the Burthen of a Confederate *Suspicion* and *Envy*. *Covetize* has been able to enhance an *Estimate* upon the foetid Bowels of the *Earth*; and strange it is, that *Reason* cannot prevail as far in favour of the Right-precious *Inwards* of the *Soul*. Why should Malevolence and Infamy thus stifle the Veneration that is due to the soundest *Judgments*? And what a shame it is for the *Mind* to engender *Poyson*, when even the very *Earth* is productive of *Antidotes* against it? *Prudence* and the other Virtues requisite for due *Administration*, are lock'd up within the *Soul* as within a Cabinet; which should be look'd into with an honest Intention, not with a malicious; or to furnish matter for *Detraction* and *Slander*. He that has the most absolute Command over the *Instruments* of Government, is certainly the Greatest Prince. Such a one will ever Cherish and Advance the most deserving; and be studious in picking out the ablest *Ministers*; because the *Prudence* and *Fidelity* of his Councillors is mainly Contributory to the Acquest of Immortal *Glory*. So that a Labour attended with these Advantages, is delightful, even in the very Necessity of it. But be a Minister never so dexterous, and experienc'd in *State-affairs*; he ought not yet to carry a Shew of Outstripping his *Master* in point of *Prudence*. For this is to set himself up as an Accessory to his *Sovereign*; and of a *Servant* (which all *Subjects* ought to be) to become his *Companion*. The unlimited Rayes of *Royalty* would suffer an Eclipse by a *Partner*, and those *Decrees* that proceed from a *Subject*, do still carry along with them a Relish of *Self-Interest*; and yet in Debates of great Importance, a Minister should not be deny'd a temperate Freedom of *Speech*, however he be debarr'd the *Power* to determine, (which ought to be *Incommunicable*, in such Cases;) it being the Officers Duty to *Assist*, not to *Teach* his *Prince*; who can no more be able to acquit himself well, in Point of good Government, with-

without this Liberty of *Will*, than to live without a *Soul*. For what is a *Prince* abstracted from the Privilege of making Use of his own *Reason*, but a Cypher, or a Liveless Trunck?

THUS ought a *Prince* to behave himself. But yet this General Rule will admit of Exceptions. For in the Case of an infirm, or a shallow *Prince*, it is good for him to support his own Weakness by distributing of his *Authority*, to such Persons as have both Abilities for so eminent a Charge, and an Inclination to perform Faithful Service to the Commonwealth. By this very Means, some *Monarchs* have arriv'd at such a Pitch of *Honour*, as by their own separate *Endeavours*, they could never have attain'd to. *Hercules's* Insufficiency was never discern'd, so long as he had his Friend *Atlas* to stand at his Elbow; and many hands are able to support even a Tottering State. It is the very Wheel of Policy, for a *Prince* to confide in those *Ministers* that do deserve his *Trust*: for in so doing he will discharge his Duty to *God*, and dispense an Equitable Influence upon his *People*. Beside that so long as he carries fair with his *Counsellors*, no Errors and Miscarriages of State, will ever be imputed to him: (though he appropriates the *Honour* of all wholesome Laws, and Successful Counsels) because it lessens not the Credit of an *Artificer*, to have a blunt *Tool*, provided he continues not to make use of it, after he has once found it to have lost its Edge. The *Prince* has one Person, and sustains another; One of them he brought into the World with him, the other he receiv'd from above; the One he holds in Common with mortal men, the Other was bestow'd upon him by the *Almighty*, for the Good of the Kingdom. His natural Abilities ought to be strengthen'd by the Accession of the *Arts*, which are both a Help and an Ornament to the Royal Function. The Man is compos'd of Soul and Body, as his Parts; but the *Prince* is form'd as with Instruments. Now a *Just Prince* does perfectly understand both Himself and his *Prerogative*; governs with Prudence, is Mature in his Resolves, quick in discovering things prejudicial to the Publick Welfare; and in all Transactions consults the Circumstances of Time, Place and Person. The whole Office of a *Prince*, some have reduc'd, under these two Heads, Council and Action; the first being perfected by Judgment, the other by Fidelity. Opportunities, and the Nicks of Time, fall under the Cognizance of the *Prince*; and for the Rest of the Execution, it may be left to his Officers.

DIFFIDENCE gives Beginning to *Crimes*, and Fewel to *Treachery*, and a general *Distrust* of his People, is a certain Token of a *Princes* approaching Ruine; for he must love that would be lov'd, and *Confidence* is as a Bulwark both to his Security, and to their Allegiance: But *Jealousie* implyes *Fear*, and when a King is once driven to stand in Awe of his *Subjects*, he is within *Amis-Ace* of being none at all. So that it highly concerns him, by all possible Means, to engage the *Affections* of his People, as the main Support of his *Reputation* abroad; *Good Faith* and *Credit* being the two principal *Props* of all *Empires*: for they preserve Peace, animate the Commonwealth, and counterminne the secret *Machinations* of the disaffected. *Counsel* is as a Thread to direct us to the Choice of things safe and profitable; to distinguish *Truth* from Falschood, adding to the Lustre of the one, and to the Infamy of the other, by bringing them to an equal *Test*. Nay, in such Esteem was this *Policy* among the *Carthaginians*, that they censur'd those *Generals* that got a *Victory without* it, and discharg'd those that made use of it, though they lost the *Day*: they imputing the *Miscarriage* to *Fortune*, on the one hand, and the *Success* to *Tenuity* on the other; but where *Jealousie* has once possess'd a *Prince*, the utmost Diligence of the *Minister* can never be able to work any great Effect. *Cassiodorus* will have that to be a *Perfect Government*, where there is *Prudence*, collected from the Observation of *Past Events*; an *Application* suited to the Particularities of the *Present Times*, and a *Providence* for *Futurities*. But I shall subjoyn as necessary to the completing of a *Happy Prince*, *Confidence* in his *Ministers*, *Resolution* in his Undertakings, and a constant Perseverance upon the Execution of them. The *Italians* do take Measures by the *Past*, the *Spaniard*, by the *Present*, and the *French*, by the *Future*.

SENECA will have three sorts of men, the One endu'd with the Faculty, (upon a Concurrence of many things) to discern and make Choice of the Best. The Other, of themselves able to make a Reasonable Choice, but a Better yet, upon Recommendation; and the Third is forc'd to pursue those things only which they are set upon. These now are little better than *Natural Slaves*; being in a manner unprofitable to a Commonwealth: and they are still the more Unhappy, in that they neither know how to govern themselves, nor will suffer others to do it for them. But the first Kind is eminently the most considerable. And the Second, though they are not over capable of avoiding, and warding off Mischiefs;

yet are they willing to admit of Help, and can discern things profitable from Inconvenient. And in truth the *Order* does not so very much surpass this *Virtue* of being *Willing* to be well inform'd in what we are ignorant of, and in a Possibility of coming to the Knowledge of what at present we do not understand. The *Philosopher* gives Him the first Place, that is *sober* in his *Deliberations*; and to him that is *Studious* of the *Truth*, and dispos'd to make a good Use of what is laid before him, the *Second*: In a word, that man might be the more conspicuously distinguish'd from *Brutes*, the *Creator* vouchsafed him the Blessings of *Reason* and *Liberty*; and of knowing things above the Reach of *Mortality*, being fledg'd with the borrow'd Wings of *Art*. So that whilst we follow the *Dictator* of our *Understandings*, we may be said to live in a State of *Dominion*. But yet how despicable a Creature (alas!) is Man, when *raken* single.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Vices incident to a Privy Council, that a Prince ought to Correct and Avoid.

I HAVE already told you, that a *Commonwealth* is a *Body* of *People*, compos'd of many *Families*, and subjected under *One Supreme Head*. And it is the work of a *Councillor*, to prepare *Remedies* as well for the *Particular*, as for the more *General* Disorders of it. And they are to be varied, according to the Diversity of *Times* and *Occasions*: for it is a Point of *Prudence* to shift *Councils*, according to the Change of *Circumstances*; and to accommodate them to the *several Affairs* and *Necessities* of *Particular Cases*. Because a Change of *Opinion* is then highly commendable, when it makes for the *Better*; nor is there any *Fear* of a *Wise* man's incurring a *Censure* of *Inconstancy* by this way of *Proceeding*, so long as he directs all his *Endeavours* to the *Good* of the *Publick*.

A *PRINCE* should be particularly careful in providing these *Councils* that are betwixt upon *Chairs*, even though they should promise to contain themselves within certain *Bounds*; for they will never hold any great *Respect* to *Honour* in the *Manner* of their *Executions*; and so equally profitable both to *God* and *Man* is a *frank* *Shift*, that the *Practices* of it do commonly pull down *Misery* and *Affliction* upon their own *Heads*. But if *Convenience* may

be at any time preferr'd to *Justice*; it is to be done upon *Compulsion*, not upon *Choice*; and upon a desperate *Pinch of State*, that forces a *Prince* at any Rate to provide for the Security of *Himself* and *Kingdom*. For if he come once to make use of *Crafty Counsels*, out of a *Habit and Custom*, not out of *Necessity*, let him not blame any Body but himself; if his *Life and Death* be equally unfortunate and infamous. *Hen. 3. of France*, was a great Admirer of *Machiavel*, and some of our own *Kings* also have been censur'd for over much *Craftiness*; and what have the *Effects* of it ever been, but either the provoking of a *violent Death* upon themselves, or the entailing *Judgments and Calamities* upon their *Posterity*. Nay, so loathsome is this *Hellish Subtily* to all People, that the bare *Suspicion* of it is sufficient to turn a *Friend* into a *Foe*, and to quicken the *Malice* of a *sleeping Enemy*. Now the *first Work of Craft* is to cast a *Mist* before the *Eye of the Mind*; and then to represent to it, that by the *Means* of this wicked *Policy*, even the *World* it self may be turn'd *Topsy Turvy*, and that the profitable *Ends* propos'd can never be gain'd but by its *Assistance*. But do we not see in our daily *Experience*, that those that endeavour to enlarge their *Estates*, by the *General Disturbance* of the *Universe*, are commonly thrust out of their own *Possessions*? The *Droppical man* thirsts after *whole Seas*, and is burst with a *Rivulet*. The *Prince* that addict's himself to such *Little Arts*, divests his *Ministers* of the *Use* of their *Judgments*, and (let their *Affection* for *Integrity* be never so real) makes them *Sacrifice* all to *Pleasure*, and to labour the purchasing the *Reputation* of *Wise men* by *Fraud and Cunning*, though it never was capable of producing any thing but a *Sherk*: and thus he creates to himself as many *Foes*, as he has *Counsellors*. Such *Princes* are prone to reckon upon those as their ablest and trustiest *Servants*, who do the most frankly subscribe to their *Opinion*: when as the essential *Qualifications* of a true *Statesman* are, *Judgment* to distinguish things *Just and Decent*, and after *That*, a resolute *Constancy* to put them into *Act*. Let a *King* take special Heed to those *Counsellors* that seem to be compos'd of a *Spirit of Contradiction*; for these men labour only to set off their own *Wit*, and are of no *Use*, but to inject *Difficulties*, and to raise *Oppositions* against the most wholesome *Advices*; being *Enemies* to all *Truth*, both *Publick and Private*. *Truth* becomes never the more perceptible by a *confused Canvassing*; *Plato* tells us, that a temperate *Society* is as much a *Mother* to *Verity*, as an oblique *Conventicle* is a *Stepdame* to *Prudence*. Those *Opinionative* men also that affect to be accounted the *Great Masters* of

of *Discretion*, are utterly unfit for the honourable Charge of a *Privy-Counsellor*, because they will labour to appropriate all to themselves, and to decry the most commodious Proposals, if they happen not to be of their own Suggesting; and obstinately to confront their own *Whimsies*, to the *Reasonable Projects* of any other. Such People will be content to remain in *Ignorance*, rather than submit to be better inform'd, and to know *nothing* at all of a Business, than stoop to ask a *Question*. I reckon upon three sorts of *Unhappy* men. The *First* have *Brains* in their Heads, but no *Body* is the better for them; The *Second* will *promise fair*, but *Perform* nothing. And the *Third* and *Worst* sort are not meer *Naturals* 'tis true, but yet incapable of any tolerable *Improvement*. *Solomon* desir'd of *God* an *Understanding Heart*, and a man that is *modestly Ignorant*, is not so dangerous to a *State*, as he that is *insolently Wise*; because the one rests satisfy'd with the *Conduct* of his *Superiours*; whereas the other intruding himself into all *Debates*, accounts it a mighty lessening of his *Parts*, not to have his *Opinion* pass for *Current* in all Cases, without *Controul*. *Plato* says well that there is no *Folly* so pernicious, as that which walks under the *Mark* of *Prudence*, and takes upon it self as the *Quintessence* of *Wisdom*.

CHAP. V.

Of the Parts that Qualifie a Minister for a Seat in the Council.

AS to the more Honourable sort of *Ministers*, they may be divided into four Parts; *Counsellors*, *Military Officers*, *Justices*, and those *Counsellors* that do immediately attend upon the *King's* Person, in his Travels. Now though these are born to a *Private* Condition, yet ought they all to be qualify'd for the Management of a *Scepter*: because the *Commonwealth* will flourish or decay in Proportion to their Inclinations and Capacities to serve it; it not being to be supported without *Herald Atabegments*; and they are the *Princes Instruments*, by which to effect *Good*. To the completing of a Perfect *Counsellor*, both *Nature* and *Art* is requisite; and he is the ablest that has the greatest share of Both. *Wit* and *Honesty* are deriv'd from *Nature*, but for *Industry* and the *Firmness*, we stand in a great Measure indebted to *Art*; the one furnishing *Matter*; and the other,

Fortune. A *Wit* that is *Acute* and *Elevated* seldom falls upon that which is *safe* and *common*; because it commonly spends it self upon *new Projects*, and *immature Deliberations*. *Tiberius* (a Prince of a piercing *Judgment*) made Choice of such *Ministers*, whose *Spirits* were not over *Volatile*, but *poys'd* and equal to their *Business*. On the other side, *Lewis* the 14th of *France* is generally censur'd of having hasten'd his own *Ruine*, by preferring such *Wits* as were of too fine and delicate an *Edge*. The *Athenians* by the very same *Over-sight*, were driven to undergo several *Changes* of their *Government*, in a small Space of *Time*. Whereas the *Venetians* (contrariwise) do attribute the Continuance of their *Prosperity* to their being govern'd by moderate *Heads*. The fruitfulllest *Trees* are the shortest liv'd, their *Runts* decaying by being surcharg'd with *Juice*; and *Exquisite Remedies* are observ'd to destroy more than they cure; let the *Counsellor* therefore be of a ready *Wit*, grave of *Judgment*, and ripe in *Experience*. Where *Strength* of *Nature* is wanting, great Performances are not to be expected from such a man, because he is oblig'd to follow his *Gravity*, and to square his *Actions* by his *Abilities*. Without *Virius* no man can be a good *Statesman*, because he must consult his *Conscience* in all his Proceedings, and take his Aim by the Mark of *Piety*. Where there is *Honesty* of *Life*, and *Equality* of *Mind*, prudent and equitable Undertakings are inseparable. King *Alphonsus* (Surnam'd the *Wise*) prefer'd *Friendship* and *Affection* in a *Counsellor* above all other Considerations; alledging this Reason, That the *Blindness* of *Love* is most quick in discerning the Good of a *Friend*. It was *Aristotle's* Advice to *New Citizens*, that they should weep when their Master wept, and when he smil'd do the like. This *Counsel* now, had it come from an *Enemy*, would have been suspicious, but from a *Friend*, it is valuable. We may find the very *Archetype* of true *Friendship* in the *Band* of our *Shoakes*; for that is always at hand, let the *Wound* be never so sudden or accidental, and the *Drops* of it are *Nature's Tears*, (as it were) by which she laments, and solateth the Anguish of the *Hurt*. And hence we may learn, that to *Refuse* Help in time of *Need*, is cheaper than to ask it, because that costs us very dear, which we purchase with our *Prayers*. Now the *Counsellors Refusal* brought to be agreeable to the *Master* in *Denare*, and neither inclining to a *Useless* *Timid*ity on the one hand, nor to a precipitate *Rashness* on the other. *Marius* *Agrippa* was very fortunate in this Particular; so that he seldom undertook any thing which he went not thenceforth with a the Success full answer, ing his Pains, and the Happiness of the *Issue* equalling his example.

ry Perseverance. Fear does many times conceal it self under the Pretence of *Cautious*, and that which carries the Appearance of *Maturity*, is in Truth but a *Feebleness of Spirit*: And it fares ill with that People, who are oblig'd to pay the same Veneration to the *Shadow* of Virtue, as to the *Substance*, *Idolatry* being a Grievance at the best; but much more so, when by Strength of hand it is imposed as *True Worship*.

IT is sound Policy to preserve as Secret as possible all Decrees and Resolutions of *State*; as an infallible means to heighten the Reverence of the *Subject*, and the Apprehensions of the *Enemy*; because from the *Closetness* where with a thing is manag'd, the *People* are induced to hope for, and *Enemies* to dread the Production of something great and extraordinary. Nay this *Rule* is to be observ'd even in *Businesses* of small Moment; for if there be *Misfortune* in the Case, the unseasonable Divulging of it terrifies and abashes the *Multitude*; and on the other side, the News of any advantageous *Successes* works them up first into *Confidence*, and then into *Security*, which is the most dangerous Condition of all others. Let me in the next place recommend *Ingenuity* to the Practice of the *Counsellor*, for he ought to be the great Example of *Truth*, and to prefer the *Publick-Weal* to all *By-respects* whatsoever. He should also be of a generous Temper, that so he may advise the Prince for the best, if he chance to forget himself; for a modest Use of this Freedom is both profitable to the *Prince* and laudable in the *Minister*. He should also be continually rendering a Gracious Prince the Thanks and Acclamations of his *People*, for the great Concern he is pleas'd to express for their Welfare. How many solemn *Festivals* did the *Romans* yearly constitute, upon which to return their *Consuls* Thanks for the Justice and Moderation of their Government; the Intent of such publick Expressions being to encourage them in their well Doings, and to put their Vices to the Blush, by the Underservedness of the Commendation.

FOR the *Quality* of a *Privy Counsellor*, I look upon *Athenians* to be the most fit; because Experience tells us, that those things are the best looks to, which are placed under the Trust of the *Nobility*. *Alexander Severus* prefer'd such as were Learned in the *Law*. He was train'd up under *Ulpian*, by the help of whose Precepts and Instructions, he became a Glorious *Emperor*. He also fortunately advanc'd into the Senate *Titus*, *Paulus*, *Antoninus*, *Africanus*, *Adrianus*, and other equally deserving Scholars of the Sage *Ulpian*. *Augustus* was a diligent Reader of *Trojan's Works*; *Trajan* esteem'd *Nemicius's*; *Antoninus* those of *Scavola*, and *Septimius Severus*.

rus, *Papinian's*. Thus the Ship of the *Commonwealth* sail'd most prosperously, so long as she had such skillful *Pilots* to manage her *Helms*. In those days, the Knowledge of the *Law* flourish'd exceedingly; and being made Use of as a just *Prototype* for the new moulding of the *Government*, the *Empire* by this means was put into a Capacity of supporting it self for some Ages, against all the Attempts of its *Enemies*, and the Shocks of *Fortune*. This *Science* is an Ornament of *Majesty*; it has immortaliz'd the *Memories* of many Great *Princes*, purchas'd them the glorious Title of *Fathers of their Country*; this it is that secures us in the Enjoyment of our *Possessions*, and is the common Standard of *Just* and *Honest*. Those wretched Authors of *Rome's* Infelicities, *Clodius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Domitian*, and the rest, whose Brutish Insolencies eclips'd the Lustre of the *Empire*; were all of them profest *Enemies* and *Contemners* of the *Law*. Nor is it to be wonder'd at, that this *Great Rule of Equity*, should find no better Entertainment, under the most unjust and licentious of *Princes*; because they knew very well that this would prove a *Looking Glass* to reflect the monstrous Deformities and Corruptions of their Lives to publick View.

THE *Romans* would not admit of a Stranger into their *Senate*, as judging such a one as different from them in his *Manners*, as he was in his *Language*; and ignorant also of their *Laws* and *Customs*, deriv'd to them from their *Ancestours*. Beside that little Agreement is to be expected from *Contrarieties*; Diversity of *Thoughts* producing a Diversity of *Actions*. And where there is a Difference of *Opinion*, there is a Predominance of mutual Discord and Emulation; So that *Mecenas's* Advice to *Augustus* to entertain none in his *Council* but *Romans*, was most sound, as appear'd by the Effects of the *Emperour's* Decree to that Purpose, that was founded upon it. *Lycurgus* impos'd a *Law* of the same Purport upon the *Lacedemonians*; by which he provided against any *Foreigners* being admitted to the private Debates of the *Republick*. *Clodius* follow'd the same Rule, and *Trajan* enacted that all *Candidates* for this Office should have at least a third Part of their *Estates* within the *Confines* of *Italy*. So long as Affection and a Masculine Tenderness do influence in all a *Princes* *Actions*, they will be *Just* and *Temperate*: For *Passion* and *Hatred* are the mortal *Enemies* of *Reason*, disturbing and confounding all things high and low, *Sacred* and *Profane*, when they once come to bear upon a *Loose Reins*. The *Victims* of *Truth* are so very Rare, that it is almost become a matter of *Scandal* to sacrifice to her. But yet

Inter.

Integrity will still be venerable; especially in our own Country, where *Merit* stands the fairest for *Preferment*. Those Animosities that are *Hereditary*, we ever find to be the longest liv'd; for as *Fire* is contain'd in the *Flint*, so the ancient *Enmities* conceal'd in the *Breast*. The Body of the *Flint* does not *deadens*, but *cherish* the *Fire*; and a *Heart* thus infected, grows daily more and more obdurate. Inſomuch that as by a ſlight *Touch*, the *Flint* produces a *Spark*, and that a *Flame*; ſo in the Caſe of a ſmother'd *Enmity*, the *Fire* burſts forth afreſh, many times, upon the moſt trivial Occaſion. *States-men* do liken a *Commonwealth* to a *Ship*, which lyes expoſ'd to a Viciffitudinary Succeſſion of Calms and Tempeſts; and Death treading upon the Heel of Life; and there muſt needs be a *Community of Fortune*, where there is a *Community of Danger*.

BUT yet notwithstanding what has been ſaid, there may ſometimes be met with in a Stranger ſuch a Concurrence of extraordinary Accompliſhments and favourable Inclinations, as may create in him a Title, and in a Prince a kind of Obligation to prefer him, and to intereſt him even in the moſt ſecret Tranſactions of State. In the Caſes of old Age, or Want of Iſſue, *Nature* will admit of the Adoption of a *Foreigner*. It is but reaſonable therefore that a Prince ſhould have a Power to enfranchize them; For *Natives* are beholden to *Nature* for the Privilege, but *Strangers* to their own proper *Merit*, and to the Convenience of the Country they dwell in. Now our *Bodies* are the Subjects of this World, but our *Souls* derive their *Nativity* from the other. The *Mind* is a Citizen of the Univerſe, and reckons upon that Place where it likes beſt to be its own Country. Why do we not quarrel the Beams of the Sun and the Influences of the Stars, if no Body muſt be allow'd to do us a good Office, but our own Country men? The moſt *Glorious* of the *Angels* are plac'd neareſt the *Throne* of the *Almighty*; and a Prince ſhould obſerve the ſame Rule in the Ranking of his Miniſters; the moſt *Worthy* ſhould have moſt *Favour*. There may be three Advantages hoped for in the advancing of a deſerving Stranger, Juſt Adminiſtration, Credit to the Prince, and the Benefit of a great Example. I ſay Reputation to a Prince; for if he prefer Strangers upon the bare Score of their *Virtue*, it will be known that he values *Deſert* in a Servant, above all other Conſiderations. 'Tis true, *Amicitia* Nature in ſome things; but then it perſuades her in others; and in this Particular of Honouring Strangers, moſt eminently, who by their Industry do ſurmount all the Difficulties and Diſadvantages of their Birth, and by the pure dint of *Virtue*, do advance themſelves upon a Level with

with a Princes *Natural Subjects*. They will be just in their Office, as not lying under the Temptation of so many By-respects as the other : and this is the Reason why diverse States have generally made Choice of Strangers for the Discharge of publick Administrations. It will certainly be of good *Example* : for when the Princes Subjects come once to find that pure Merit weighs more with him, than all the Advantages of Blood and Fortune, it will raise in them an Emulation, and a Desire to advance themselves to those Offices by their *Virtues*, which before they might have hop'd for upon the Consideration of their *Quality*.

POLITICIANS do require these five Qualifications in a *Perfect Counsellor*, viz. Prudence, Integrity, Constancy, Secrecy, and Generosity. But I vote for Affection to their Prince, Fidelity to their Country, Zeal for the promoting the Publick Interest, an honest Freedom of Speech to their Sovereign, and that the Minister may not labour under perpetual Apprehensions, when any thing is ill represented. *Faith* and *Prudence* are opposite to *Folly* and *Treachery*. And *Ozorius* would have the Princes Ministers to be learned in the *Sciences*, indu'd with a large Proportion of *Experimental Knowledge*, well vers'd in the Study of *Antiquity*, dexterous in sifting out of Frauds and subtle Practices ; and provident in foreseeing the Benefits, or Inconveniences that may happen to the State. So hard a thing it is to attain to the Honour of a compleat Counsellor ! *Pliny* in his *Panegyric* upon *Trajan* wishes them to be Faithful, Learned, and quick and ready in the untying of Difficulties. Some having undertaken to form a compleat *Counsellor* ; and believing it impossible to find such a one upon Earth, as they would recommend and approve of ; they have given their Advice for the entertaining of a great Number, that so they may mutually correct and supply one anothers Errors and Defects. It is a common Saying, *Many Hands make light Work* ; and *Truth* is there soonest discover'd, where a great many do put themselves in Quest of it. And that *Decree* does certainly carry the greatest Force and Authority with it, that proceeds from a general Unanimity of Opinions upon the matter of it. *Alexander Severus* never impos'd any Law, till he had consult'd his ablest Ministers about it, and communicated it to the Counsel of *Egypt*. The *First* examin'd the *Equity* of it, and the *other* its *Convenience*, in Reference to the Subject. The *Carthaginians* created a *Council of Thirty* of the gravest Members of the *Senate*, reckoning upon all the *Sanctions* of it as so many *Oracles* from *Apollo's Tripod*.

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It is indeed the best Counsellors, rather than the most, that do provide for the Welfare of the Commonwealth. But yet a Small Number ought to be establish'd, to avoid Confusion; and the dangerous Effects of a presuming Confidence. Beside that, a Secret is not to be communicated to a great Number; because, if it takes Air (as certainly it will) the Author cannot be call'd in Question.

CHAP. VI.

*How a Prince ought to Govern himself in his Council,
and in the Choice of his Ministers.*

WHEN a Prince Honours and Prefers the most able and truly Ministers, it is a Pregnant Argument of the Excellency of his Judgment; for the way to make a reasonable Conjecture of the Worth of a Prince, is to observe him narrowly in the Choice of his Officers. Thus Moses among the Hebrews gave evident Proof of his extraordinary Wisdom, by taking to his Assistance, in the Government of the People, the most Noble and Warthy amongst them. And Salomon elected Magistrates, in Athens, out of the Wealthiest and most Prudent of the Citizens; and successfully advanc'd such to a share in the Administration of the State, whose Virtues had before hand render'd them eminently conspicuous and deserving. Lewis the 11. and Philip the Fair (Kings of France) lost themselves, and were abandoned in their Extremities, by not observing this wholesome Policy. And the very same Arts that do discover the Pulses of the Wall, do also divulge the Appetites and Propensities of Ministers. But where Nature has imprinted in us an Aversion against any thing, it is not all the Artifice imaginable that can recover us into a liking of it. We are not capable of mistaking that which we are oblig'd by this powerful Cord to shun. So that it is not to be expected that a Prince should look with a favourable Eye upon those men that he has entertain'd with an Aversion against; Kings commonly preferring those whose Manners they find to run parallel with their own. But this erroneous Choice may arise either from the Circumstances of Time, or from the Malignity of the Climate, or else from the loose and luxurious Education of the Country, that is not able to produce men qualify'd to serve the Government. This Disease is predominant in the greater part of all Asia, where the People are sluggish and im-

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provident, which may proceed either from their prostitute *Slavery*, or from their effeminate Course of Life. Or this Error in point of Election may otherwise proceed from the Prince's natural Disposition to *Jealousie* and *Distrust*; that raises in him a Prejudice against men of extraordinary Courage and Resolution; or else from the *Sickness* of his *Understanding*, whereby he is render'd incapable of proportioning each mans *Burthen* to his *Strength*; or lastly, it may happen through *Facility*, that disposes him to value *Favour* above *True Worth*; and *Artifice* above *Excellency*. But these Mistakes have in Truth been of very pernicious Consequence to all *States*; and to our own more especially, by Reason of the strong Emulation of the People: the *English* being naturally Stout, Sincere, Generous, Active and Prudent, and so esteem'd all the World over. So that the Fault lyes not *There*, if the Government be not furnish'd with sufficient *Ministers*: That Prince that would be serv'd by the ablest *Officers*, must make Tryal of, Sift, and examine their Inclinations and Interests: He would do well also to give some Heed to the common Opinion that the People pass upon them, who do many times speak shrewd *Truths* in such Cases. And though it be no hard matter to deceive and to be deceiv'd; yet it is very much for *one* to impose upon a Multitude. So that most men are seldom better than they are generally thought to be. *Alexander Severus* after he had elected Governours of *Provinces*, was wont to send about their Names throughout the *Country*; and if he found the Peoples good Will not to stand well toward them, he would put them by, and substitute others in their Places. Let a Prince diligently look into first the *natural*, then the *acquired Parts* of the Person he designs to advance: and his Quality is also to be diligently examin'd: because good Blood is usually heighten'd by liberal Nurture; and the Reflection of his *Ancestors Virtues* provokes him to an *Imitation* of them. But if all these *Qualifications* be wanting; it is in vain to hope for any good Service from such a Person. Men that are *Cruel* and *Insulfe*, are never to be made the Instruments of distributing *Justice*; because they are naturally precipitated into Extravagancies, and if they do a commendable Action, they are more beholden to *Chance* for't, than to their own *Choice*; beside that, at the best, the *Infamy* of the *Prince*, will ever sound louder than the *Fame* of the *Event*. Whereas, on the other side, those that are *Wise* and *Honest*, do act well even out of a *Habit*: as it were; and a *Miscarriage* neither impairs the *Credit* of the *Prince* nor of such a *Minister*; because the Soundness of the Council is not measur'd by the Success of it. And

certainly there is a vast Difference betwixt the *Just* and the *Unjust*, betwixt those that act according to *Reason*, and such as follow the *Dilates* of the *Will*; he that does *Just* things has no other Enemy but *Fortune*, who is sometimes inclin'd, otherwhiles forc'd to Favour, and comply with *Reason* and *Equity*.

IN his Choice of *Ministers*, a Prince should follow the Example of the Almighty, who never prefers the *Great* before the *Good*, but the Contrary. It is much his *Interest* also to be as often present in his *Council* as possible. Because if the bare Report to him of their Proceedings be sufficient for the authorizing of them; he will be able much more conveniently to order all things for the best, when he is assisted by his own personal Knowledge of all the Particularities of each Debate. Beside that by so doing it will not be hard for him to sound his *Ministers*, and to discover their Designs and Intentions. By his Presence he will likewise encourage Loyalty, and cherish *Honesty*, *Care*, and *Order*: thus the good will meet upon't, and the *Profligate* (be he never so industrious to conceal his *Treachery*) be turn'd off. And yet he ought not to Seal up the Lips of his *Councillars*, by the Rigour and Severity of his Carriage to them; but only to set a *Guard* upon them. The very *Silence* of a Prince is many times more effectually perswasive than the Powerfulllest *Rhetorick* of another man: for *Majesty* usurps upon the Privileges of *Eloquence*. Now whether this is fair or not, I leave to the Politicians to determine; but this I am certain of, that *Gold* and *Silver* are not the only Subjects of *Felony*; the *Mind* it self, and our very *Liberty*, many times running the same Risque with our *Fortunes*. *Tiberius* the Emperour when he had a Mind to fish out the Sense of the *Senate* about any Business, and to conceal his *Own*, he would discourse in broken Phrases, and so couch his Words, that no Body should be able to pick out the Meaning of them. The *Ulpian* was also very good at this. *Augustus* *Cesar*, would ever deliver his Opinion in the *Senate* the last of all; and this he did to the end that *Justice* might not suffer by Favour or Flattery. The *Consul* indeed was oblig'd to declare himself in the first place; but this Custom was very prejudicial to that *State*; because Authority many times got the better of *Reason*. So that it is not prudent for a Prince to disclose his *Own* Thoughts, till he has first heard those of his *Council*. It will also behoove him diligently to intend the Matter before him; and not so suffer himself to be wrought upon by any other Arguments, than such as do

proceed from Equity. Neither should he so intirely rely upon the Judgment of any one *Minister*, as openly to prefer it to all the Rest, because *honesty* and the *common Good* is to be the drift of all his *Actions*.

But he must detest *Flattery*, as the most execrable of all *Vices*. For it wounds indiscernably, and hurts in disguise, always doing the greatest Mischief, where it pretends the reallest *Kindness*. A *Parasite* is the mortal Enemy both of *King* and *Kingdom*; because, making it his only Study, *First* to insinuate himself into the *Prince's* good Opinion, and then, to preserve it, he is ever ready at hand both to suggest and to execute any the most Hellish *Villanies*. To bring such *Pests* of Mankind to publick Shame and Punishment, is a Work truly worthy a *Princes* Care. There goes a Story of *John* the Second *King* of *Portugal*, (who was Excellent at detecting of *Flatterers*) that being solicited by one of his *Courtiers* for the Grant of an *Office* that was Vacant, he should give him this Answer, *I reserve this Place for one that never speaks to please me.* And He certainly will make the Truest *Servant* of the *Government*, that cannot buckle himself to an unthoisy *Fawning Compliance*.

PART II.

Of the Second Principle of Political Reason.

CHAP. I.

Of the Knowledge that a Prince ought to have of the Natural Bent and Disposition of his People.

HAVING thus far discoursed of *COUNSEL*, as the First Principle of *Policy*; I shall now proceed to treat of the Second, which I have already told you is *STRENGTH*; or the Result of a Complication of these Five Particulars, *Loyalty*, *Munificence*, *Tranquillity*, *Arms* and *Treasure*. The Generosity,

nerosity, Justice, and Clemency of the Prince, produces the *First*. The *Second* arises from his own Courage, the Martial Genius, of his own People, and the Power of his Military Provisions. His Activity, the Affections of his Subjects, and his Foreign Leagues and Alliances create the *Third*. The *Fourth* flows from his Abilities in matter of *War*, his Successes, and the largeness of his *Exchequer*. And the *Fifth* is acquired by the Freedom of Traffick and Commerce, and the Moderation of his Expences and Taxes. Now that Prince that would gain these several Advantages, must give great Heed to, and make a good Use of the Instruments of *Government*; such are the *Faculty* of sifting the Temper, and Inclinations of the *Subjects*, the Commendable *Prudence* of Establishing wholesome Laws, *Experience* in Warlike Affairs, a Regard to the securing of the Publick Peace; *Quickness* in discerning of Futurities, *Sedulity* in Strengthening and enlarging the Limits of the Kingdom, *Judgment* to pierce into the Affections and Counsels of his Neighbouring *Princes*, and a lucky *Dexterity* in Composing of Differences. I shall also recommend a *Ripeness* in Deliberating, *Resolution* in Executing, *Constancy* to his Purposes, *Fortitude* in Adversity, in Prosperity, *Moderation*. In a *Word*, he must be so steady and composed in *Religious Concernments*, as not slothfully to warp towards *Superstition* on the *One* Hand, and to *Insolence* and *Presumption* on the other. But these several Branches may be reduced under Four General Heads, *viz.* *First*, a perfect Knowledge of the Nature and Disposition of his Subjects. *Secondly*, the important Skill of managing Proceedings of *War*. *Thirdly*, his First Actions after his coming to the *Crown*; and *Fourthly*, Administration of Justice. The two *First* of these fall under this Second Fundamental of *Policy*; but the other relate to the *Third*, and shall be spoken of in their proper Place.

AFTER that the Prince by the First Actions of his Reign has given proof of his Sufficiency for so glorious a Charge, and after he has furnish'd himself with such Councillors and other Ministers as are necessary for the Support of his Royal Dignity, let it be his next Work to study the Affections and Inclinations of his People. But in regard that to walk by Rules, would be exceeding Tedious, over and above the Uncertainty of such Prescriptions by reason of the great Variety of Circumstances and Contingencies that alter the State of things; there can be no proper Remedy

dies offered till the Quality of the Disease be known, and the Temper of the Subjects thoroughly understood. We find it by Experience, that the secret *Visus* of the Stars, and the Influence of the Heavens, have appropriated to each respective Region, certain Peculiarities that not only distinguish one People from another in point of Natural Propensity and Disposition, but even in their very Manners also. A Diversity of Celestial Impulses causes a Contrariety of Affairs and Inclinations; a different Temperament of the Blood expresses it self in a different way of Living. And then of so great Force is the Education of a Country, that it is capable of altering and inverting the Order even of Common Nature it self. And a Tutor is many times more Powerful than a Parent; Custom being there rightly called a *Second Nature*, where Nature is made the Custom of the Country. A Wise Prince will also consider and reflect upon Humane Frailty, and not expect Iron where he knows there is but Clay. He will also search into the uttermost Recesses of Nature; and by this observation upon the Passions and Education of Particular Persons, be capacitated for the Application of Particular Remedies. This Study will not cost much Sweat, even to arrive at some degree of Perfection in it. For, to be willing is the better half of the Work. Those things that are publickly dusted among the Common People, cannot but be Trivial and Vulgar. The most Skillful Horseman that is, will never be able to fit his Horse with a Bridle, till he has perfectly informed himself of the Quality of his Temper. And it is as little to be expected that a Prince should Govern his People with Credit and Equity, so long as he remains Ignorant of the Natural Drift and Bent of their Affections. Private Manners are to be regulated by Private Instructions. And although Justice both Distributive and Punitive directs its Theory to the Common Race of Mankind; yet when it comes once to be reduc'd into Practice, there must be respect had to Private Affections, and to the different Genius of this or that Respective People. And so great is the Variety in this Particular, that it is hardly possible for any Prince that is defective in this Part of his Policy, to Govern his People with Equity and Reputation.

CHAP. II.

Of the Diversity of Countreys and Climates.

HE that goes about to treat the People of *Asia* with more Humanity than the *Turkish* Policy approves of, instead of *Establishing*, would certainly overthrow the *Empire* of it. Because that part of the World, (either through the effeminate *Institution* of the Country, the *Influence* of the *Climate*, or both together) produces commonly a Race of men so basely Servile and untractable, that Gentleness and good Usage utterly spoils them; and they are only to be kept to their Duty by the Iron Rod of *Rigour*. But, on the other side, to attempt the establishing of the same Tyranny here in *Europe*, would most certainly be the Destruction of the *Author*, and of the *People*. The *Northern* parts of it are Stomachful, chearful, of a Masculine Integrity, Mature in their Deliberations, and invincibly constant to their Resolves. The *Southern* being naturally inclin'd to Caution and Craftiness, are much better at Subtlety and Artifice, than at down right Force. So that they lye more obnoxious to the Lash of Tyranny; being Slaves to the Powerful, and Insolent when they have to do with Sluggards; nay they are wonderfully dispos'd to *Superstition*, *Magick* and *Astrology* being of their *Invention*. The middle betwixt these do equally participate of both Extremes; and are Modest, Temperate, Prudent Enemies to Shifts and Cruelty; govern'd by Justice and Reason; are politick at Home, valiant in their Wars abroad, and ambitious of enlarging the Bounds of their Country by Conquest. These that inhabit the Extremities both of North and South, are generally Stupid and Blockish; being either through Excess of Cold confounded with a Superabundance of *Flegm*, on the one hand; or by too much Heat stupify'd with *Melancholy* on the other. The Air of *England* is temperate, and stirs up the People to the Love of *Justice*, *Conquancy*, *Generosity* and *Courage*, being also highly susceptible of the Impressions of *Learning*, and *Prudence*; and are insuperably tenacious of their *Liberty*: Insomuch, that the wills of our Kings have constantly cherish'd and indulg'd them as *Children*; and studying to acquit themselves as true *Fathers* of their Country, they have by that Means won from them both a *Filial Veneration*, and the Duty of

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Servants; the *Loyalty* of the *Subject* contending (by a grateful Emulation) with the *Affection* of the Prince; and so long as he valu'd himself as a *Creditor* in Point of *Benignity*, they ever approv'd themselves as *Debtors*, by a *Spontaneous Servitude*.

CHAP. III.

Of Military Discipline.

HAVING said thus much toward the perfecting of a Prince in the first Instrument of Government; it now follows that I speak of the Skill of Regulating the *Militia*, which is the *Life* of the *Kingdom*, and the *Security* of the *Government*. This will deserve much of his *Care* at all times; but more especially in the Case of Wars abroad. An overgrown *Peace* benumbs and chills that martial *Heat* that should animate and support the *Crown*; The Prince is as the *Tower*, and the *Members* of the *Commonwealth* serve as *Outworks* to defend and preserve the *Fort*. When the *Head* grows drowsie, all the other Parts do droop and languish. Let but a *Lion* be *General*, and the very *Hart* himself will be bold and adventurous, but make a *Hart* *Chieftan*, and even the *Lion* will degenerate into *Harts*. True it is, that all things are subject to mutability and change; but yet those Miscarriages are unjustly charg'd upon *Fortune*, that are the Effects of *Sloth* and *Negligence*. It is an Argument of a desperate Condition to depend upon the working of a Miracle for that which humane Means is capable of accomplishing. For Heaven can never prosper Lazyness, and a Dissolution of the Mind; it is high Injustice to make *Providence* accountable for our own *Carelessness*; and foolishly preposterous to hope to engage Favour and Assistance, by injurious Provocations. Miracles may then be with'd for, when there is *Honesty* of *Intention*, but Want of sufficient *Manner*: and not upon an *Omission* of due Means, through Suggestions of *Sloth*. Because in the first Case we call down a Blessing from above; but in the *Other*, a Punishment upon our Unfaithfulness. Philip of Macedon took the Advantage of the Distractions in Greece to unite and compose his own *Dominions*. Wisely computing,

ting, that by the Strength of *Unity* and *Concord* he should be enabled to enlarge himself *when*, and as *much* as he pleas'd. *Amureth* the *First* could never have fixt the *Turkish Standard* in *Europe*, had it not been for the Hatred and Divisions that were at that time among the *Grecian Princes*. *Occasion is bush-hair'd Before, but Bald Behind*; it may be taken upon the *Flutter*; but if it be once got upon the *Wing*, 'tis not the quickest Flight that can retrieve it. It slips away *unbecked*, and is not to be brought back again by the most pathetic *Entreaties*. In its Passage it both *smiles* and *flouts*, and the most precious part of an Event is sooner lost by *Negligence*, then recover'd by *Industry*. When one Prince designs to break with Another, he must make use of *Prevention*, and possess himself of all such *Passes* and *Avenues*, as may be serviceable to him in his *Design*; he must also provide before hand, for a safe *Retreat*, and never suffer himself to be coop'd up, without a *Back-door* to slip out at: still taking Advantage of to Day, because what to *Morrow* may bring forth, is wholly uncertain.

AS to *Military Discipline* (which requires all imaginable Care and Industry) four things may be consider'd concerning it. *First*, the Universal State of Created Nature, and the common Lot of *Mortality*, by which we are destin'd from the very Cradle to submit to the Laws and Constitutions of men, and to undergo all manner of Toyls and Hardships, as the inseparable Companions of *War*, and the very Heart-strings of *Fortitude*. The happy Improvement and Incouragement of which noble *Virtues*, by the Means of prudent Sanctions and Establishments, is doubtless one of the greatest Benefits that a *Prince* can bestow upon his People. *Secondly*, Discretion in the Choice of Souldiers. For so powerful is the Influence of the Climate, and the Education of every *Country* upon the *Natives* of it, that it is hardly possible to render one that was born in a *Hot* Region, so resolute and fearless of Death, as he that came out of a *Cold*; Nor this again so Crafty and Politick as the *other*; and that Country that enjoys a wholesome *Temperature* of Air, and a Benignity of Constellations, does generally produce the most equal and useful *Abilities* both of *Body* and *Mind*. So that the Opinion of that *Prince's* being most happy, that has the most People at his Devotion, is not much to be heeded; because it is not the *Number*, but the *Valour* of the Souldiers that gets the Day: And bare *Matter* abstracted from the generous Impressions of Nature, is capable of producing nothing but..

but Monsters. If a Prince be Lord over many Nations, it behoves him to raise his Armies out of such of them as are the most inclin'd to the Actions of War. Thirdly, the Magazines and Stores of Ammunition, together with the Quality and Convenience of Weapons; because one Province breeds the best Horse-men, another the bravest Foot; This the best Souldiers for Garrison, and defending of Towns against a Siege: another, the expertest Seamen. So that there is great Art requir'd to the suiting of every one with proper Arms; of which the Romans had great Variety: but how far they are worthy of Imitation in this Particular, I leave to those to determine who have had the good Fortune to institute the Greatest Souldiers. And the Fourth and Last Consideration relates to the Five main Duties of an Army; which are to remove a Camp, to Pitch and Fortifie it, to Defend its own, to joyn Battel, and to lay Siege. Nay, of so necessary and so advantageous Import is a perfect Skill and Knowledge in Military Affairs; that it is able to excuse and make amends for an Insufficiency in other Matters; and the strongest Bulwark against all Violences and Hostile Attempts, as well Foreign as Domestic. This Discipline it is that has rais'd both the Fame and the Felicity of the most flourishing States; of which ancient Rome is an eminent Instance, for by this single Help she supported her self against all Practices at Home and Abroad, and extended her victorious Eagles to the utmost Limits of the then known World. It is like a strong Stomach, that, when the Members labour under the sad Effects of Intemperance, works it off by pure Strength of Nature, and restores the Body to its pristine State of Health and Soundness.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Art of managing a War.

THE Charge of managing a War and conducting an Army, is of all others the most considerable; so that it is absolutely necessary for the Person upon whose Shoulders so weighty a Burthen is impos'd, to be qualify'd with all the Gifts and Excellen-

cles that Art and Nature are capable of bestowing; and with these four more particularly, viz. Personal Courage and Generosity, Great Experience in Matters of War, Illustrious Esteem and Reputation both at Home and Abroad; and a laudable Dexterity, in the Dispatch of Business. In all these Points *Julius Caesar*, and before him *Hannibal* (the greatest Commanders certainly that ever the World bred) were singularly famous. And although Fortune prov'd in the End so treacherous to the *Later*, as to give *Scipio* the Advantage of a Triumph over him, yet was she never able to deprive him of his Honour, or darken the Lustre of his Glorious Achievements. Experience is chiefly requisite; because the Art of War is not to be learn'd by Speculation, and poring upon Books, but by Action and Practice; for the Military Academy flourishes in the Camp, not in the Chamber; and Time and Exercise discharge the Duty, and supply the Place of a Tutor. A General ought to be personally present at the Execution of all important Enterprizes, and as diligent in observing the Effects of Manly Performances, as the Events of Closer Artifices. For from this Knowledge it is that the Choice of Profitable and Successful Expedients does proceed. He should also ballance his own Force with that of his Enemy, be upon the Watch to prevent Miscarriages, be quick in taking of New Measures, upon the suddain Change of Circumstances, be ready to make the best Use of such Advantages as the Oversight and Imprudence of his Adversary shall afford him: and in a word be able to judge of the proper Seasons to give Battel, with the most reasonable Hopes of Victory. In his Discipline let him be careful to mingle Sweet with Profitable; for by Courtesy and obliging Address the most different of People are preserv'd in Obedience, and the great Disparity of Manners incident to an Army composed of many Nations, link'd together in an invincible Bond of Concord. Such a Habit of the Mind is equally attractive of Love and Reverence; and *Caesar*, *Hannibal* and *Alexander* were so happy in this Point, that it became the very Root and Foundation of all their famous Exploits. The Briskness and Activity of the General, infuses Spirit and Resolution into the whole Army: For although it be not his Duty to fight hand to hand upon all Occasions, but to issue out Orders, and to manage all things according to the Rules of Prudence; yet without the Credit of his own proper Valour he will never be able to attain to any considerable degree of Reputation for Feats of Arms. His Generosity and Greatness of Mind proves his Advancement to have been the Effect of his Merit, not of Favour, and is an essential

actual Incitement to an Imitation of his *Virtues*. The *Fruits of Experience* give Life to his Authority and Reputation in the Army, and render him equally dear to his *Soldiers*, and formidable to his *Enemies*. It may be also worth taking Notice of, how *Fortune* stands affected to him; because she ever pretended to a particular *Friendship* in Military *Transactions*, and especially in such Enterprizes as are dangerous and difficult; blessing the most Prudent, and well-aid Designs, and pursuing some great men with mortal *Aversion* and *Malevolence*. But there are others again so *fortunate*, either through the Benignity of the Stars, or (to speak like a Christian) the Favour of providential Blessings, that not only their Actions but even their very *Wishes* also do somewhat prove Successful. I shall produce the Bloody Duke of *Alva*, and *Anne of Montmorency* (*Great Constable of France*) as eminent Instances of both these *Turns*; the one of which was as *Famous* for his *Unfortunateness* as for his *Strength*; the other inclining to a deliberate *Sourness*, was yet attended with so perpetual a *Felicity*, that he appear'd to have had *Fortune* entirely at his Devotion. These things consider'd; I shall recommend it as worth a Prince's while, to take Notice of in his Choice of his *Officers*; unless the Scarcity of able men does oblige him to alter his Measures, and deny him the entire Liberty of his *Will*.

AND yet true it is, that most wise men are of Opinion that *Adversity* rather than *Prosperity*, is the *Touchstone* of true *Virtue*. Because this is commonly the *Stepdame* of Industry, and the *Nurse* of Haughtiness and Negligence: whereas the other is a *Cherisher* of Diligence, an *Enemy* to Sloth, and the *Mistress* of Prudence. He that has been pinch'd by Misfortunes and Calamities, is sober in his Deliberations, considerate, and always in Action: And that is true Knowledge which having suck'd the *Theory* off from our *Masters*, we are afterwards driven to *Experiment* by a Course of *Miseries*. Adversity qualifies and Allays the Intemperate Passion and Ardent of the Mind, spurring on the Spirits, and setting all the Faculties a-work to overcome all Difficulties: whereas by *Felicity* the Resolutions are soften'd, and good Councils lose their Effect by the Lingering Unreasonableness of their Execution. *Seneca* prefers that *Judgment* that by struggling with a Series of Adversity is come at last to be Proof against the Force of it. Because keeping the Affections under, it is capable of distinguishing things profitable, from the contrary, and gives eminent Examples of sound Prudence and Constancy.

Prudence. And *Tamara* produces *Lear* as a Great Pattern of Moderation; for that having tasted of both Extremes, he neither grew slothfully abject under the One, nor disdainful and insolent under the Other. The Winds are able by an easy Blast to shake off the Blossoms, Leaves, and Fruit of a Tree; but nothing less than a Storm can affect the Firmness of its Root, which is never the better thought of for bearing stoutly up against a slight Pass. *Hannibal* frankly own'd that his Misadventures had been more instructive to him than his Victories; and that for his Prudence and Justice, he stood in a great Measure indebted to his Misfortunes; and flew'd them out of the Rough of Adversity; but upon his Success he became rather Heady than Considerate. Where a man meets with a Current of Felicity, it hurries the Brain into Giddiness; and makes him carelessly to remit all things to the Guidance of Chance; and so either by his vain Confidence, or by his Sloth provokes Fortune to turn Tail upon him and desert him. That Prince now that falls into the hands of such men, will never be able to acquit himself of his Duty with Honour. Wherefore if he be abandon'd and impos'd upon, he cannot justly blame any Body but himself, that having the Charge of a Kingdom upon him he either would not, or knew not how to make Choice of such Ministers as might be serviceable to him and to the Commonwealth in all Conditions both of War or Peace.

CHAP. V.

Of the Several Sorts of Wars.

THERE are three sorts of Wars, with which a State is liable to be infected. The First is where the Citizens do fall into a Tumult or uproar among themselves; and this is term'd a Civil War. The Second, when the People take up Arms against their Lawful Sovereign; and this is call'd a *Rebellious War*. And the Third is, when the Kingdom is engag'd in Hostility against a Foreign Power; which *Lawyer* in strict Propriety of Speech ought only to be call'd a War. Now to prevent, or to suppress such outrageous Violence is the Duty and Office of the Magistrate.

BUT *Civil Wars* do usually take their Rise either from the *Tomb*, the *Slackness*, or the *Inability* of a *Prince*. And it is a Work truly worthy of him to enact such wholesome Laws as may obviate all Disorders in the State, and transmit it sound and entire to his Successor. He ought, in the first Place to exercise his Care in the settling and establishing of Religion; because any Innovation in that Point is enough to disorder and subvert the best of *Government*. Also when a King is so very lavish of his Favour to any one particular Person, as thereby to distinguish him (by an extraordinary Degree of Elevation) from the rest of his Ministers; it not only breeds ill Blood in all of them, but also pushes on the *Favorite* himself to the Coveting of more than is consistent with his Allegiance; and either of these is sufficient to enkindle *Factions*; at least, if not an open *Conflagration*. In the Case of a Practice to introduce a false Worship in Opposition to the sound one by Law establish'd; the People are hardly to be restrain'd from *Rebellious Attempts* against the *Supreme Authority*, as Judging the Bond which ties them to the Adoration of the *Creator* to be infinitely more Obligatory than any Natural, Legal, or Spontaneous Engagement whatsoever. Some contend for an Exception to this particular Case only. But certain I am, that in all others, they are as well obliged to bear with the Infirmities of an *Evil Prince*, as to Love and Reverence a *Good one*: for otherwise, the common Order of the Universe, and the harmonious State of Things, would fall into inevitable Confusion. The *Civil Wars* of France, and the *Holy League*, with the Duke of Guise, the Head of it, that fomented them (of which our *Solemn League and Covenant* was an exact Copy) took Root from a Pretext of Henry the Fourth, his too much inclining to *Calvinism*. For although the French (of all other Nations) do adore their Sovereigns with the most profound Veneration; yet did they chuse to peruse him to the Death, and involve the whole Kingdom in the most execrable of *Intermit Wars*; rather than they would admit of any Change of the Religion (shall I call it?) of their *Fathers*, though it were never so much for the better. *Tantum Religio potius suadere Malorum.*

THE Prince will even find his Zeal for the Religion by Law establish'd to be the surest Gage of his Peoples Loyalty and Obedience. For it is very rare to be found that Faith is ever kept with that Prince, who by an audacious Infidelity shall perfidiously make a

Defe-

Defection from the Lord of Hosts. But neither yet is he so far to presume upon the Obediency of his Subjects, as to forget his Duty, and to degenerate into a licentious Slothfulness; for such is the Corruption of Humane Nature, that the People do rarely descend to so remarkable a Degree of Allegiance, as still to pursue him with an Officious Constancy that has quite forgotten and deserted the Interest of the Commonwealth. Nay on the other hand they are now adays come to such a Pitch of Boldness, that if he behave himself Tyrannically, he will have Cause to fear a Tyrants Fate; if Unjustly, the Stroke of Justice; and by being unmindful of himself, and of the State, he becomes the artificial Contriver of his own Destruction. It may therefore concern Princes to take Notice, that by their Coronation Oaths they are understood to oblige themselves to administer Justice, and to provide for the Publick Safety; and that the same Law that secures them in the Possession of their Royalties, does also indispensably bind them to labour indefatigably to promote the Common Benefit, and Weal of the Realm. For the King and People do make up one Body Politick, that is actuated by the same Spirit, which, however distributed into a Multiplicity of Parts, is yet knit together by the Bond of a Reciprocal Intercourse. The Princes Losses do sorely affect the People; but their Damages are yet more afflicting to Him, especially if he feel them Doubly, and not only in the Effect, but also as the Cause of them. Now as the Head is the most noble and lively part of the Natural, so also is the Prince of the Body Politick; and consequently more obnoxious to Pains and Convulsions. *Rebellions* do generally take their Rise either from the Levity of the People, the unwholesome Constitution of the Government, or from the Disposition of the Prince. Where the People are tainted with a Lightness and Inconstancy of Humour, they do greedily gape after a Mutation of Fortune; and lay hold of any Occasion offer'd to compass their End. As if those things could reasonably be hop'd for from Novelty and Change, which are never to be acquir'd by a Regular Order of Administration. While a Prince is new in his Throne, it ought to be his first Care to stifle and suppress all *Factions*, and understand *Machinations*. And two Vices he must be particularly careful to avoid, as the certain Seeds of Calumny and Rebellion; to witt, open Violence and Injustice, and a sluggish Unactivity of his Regal Fortunes. Unhappy Rehoboam is a pregnant Example of an Unjust Prince; and Sancho (nicknam'd the Cow), because he put one on among,

among the *Portugals*, of a *Senish* one. His *Stubbsness* does many times stimulate and encourage the most daring and disaffected of his Subjects to offer him Violence; and *Tyranny*, on the other side, fources the Affections, and turns the Hearts of his People against him. But yet it is an excellent Saying (whoever said it) *Although we may Wish for better Governours, yet we must Obey those we have.* Now the Reason that prompts a People to bestow the *Crown* that they have rebelliously wrested from a Weak Prince upon the most deserving man amongst them, is the Desire of obtaining a Generous Head that will govern them, (as *Members*) with Equity, and protect them with Resolution. The *Dixdem* was invented upon the pure Score of Convenience, and good Government. And it was set at a Price; to the End that Princes might be the more tender of the Liberties of the Subject. In a Word his Abilities ought to be deriv'd from *Nature*, improv'd by *Education*, ripen'd and exercised by *Experience*: and these Excellencies and Advantages do worthily qualifie him for the *Third Fundamental* of due *Administration*.

PART. III.

Of the Third Principle of Political Reason

CHAP. I.

Of a Prince's gaining a Reputation by the First Actions of his Government.

THE *Fame* and *Reputation* of a Prince, (which we have laid down as the *Third Fundamental* of Policy) does chiefly arise from the Opinion of his *Wisdom*, and the Terror of his *Power*. Now the first Actions of a Prince after his Coming to the *Crown*, do usually keep all men in Suspence, and fill them with Expectation, as being employ'd about the Choice of proper

Instru-

firmness to support his *Dignity*. And those that pretend to the greatest Cunning in seeing a Bodies *Heart* through his *Ribbs*, do generally lay the narrow Sifting of his first Resolutions as the Foundation-stone of all their Conjectural Prefages. Giving this Reason, that the End of a Business is to be guest at by the Beginning of it, and the Future Actions by the First. It is natural for us to hope for, and expect little less than Wonders from a New Prince, so that he is curiously ey'd by all, as pretending to a great Interest in the Excellency of his Mind, the Decorum of his Manners, and as well his Neighbour as his Friends and Dependants soliciting his Favour. By his *Vigilance* and *Activity* he does also grievously vex his Invidious Enemies; who are still inquisitive, how he commences his *Reign*, and in sifting out his Disposition; to the End that they may take Measures accordingly. And it is written of the *Mahometans*, that upon the sending of any new Viceroy into *India*, they would ever be practising to raise Commotions and Disturbances in the State, that so they might satishie themselves concerning his Genius and Abilities. So that it mainly behoves a Prince to be particularly careful of himself in this critical Juncture; and to be indefatigably industrious of imprinting a worthy Opinion of himself upon the Minds of his People. Which Point if he be so happy as to gain, he is not only adjudg'd highly deserving of his Present Fortunes, but of all others also that Time and his own Valour may afford him.

It is a Rule that holds good in all *Crafts*, *He that has well begun, has half done*. Which cannot be apply'd to that Prince that has not labour'd by all Arts and Devices, to advance his *Fame* and *Reputation*. Now I would recommend two things to his Particular Study; viz. the due Administration of *Justice* to his People, and an Endeavour to promote the *Honour* and *Advantage* of the *Commonwealth*: and these may otherwise be thus express'd; an industrious *Vigilance* to defeat all *Machinations* prejudicial to the State, to advance the Felicity of the Subject, and to enlarge the *Limits* of his Dominions. So that he may aptly enough be resembled to a *Shepherd*; for the one ought to be as studious of the Welfare of his *Subjects*, as the other is of the Good of his Flock; which Point he may then hope to gain, (and secure himself into the Bargain) when he prefers *their* Prosperity before his *own*. *Kings* stand indebted for the most Sacred *Ornaments* of *Majesty*, to their *Parents*; for their *Scepter*,

to *Providence*; but for their *Strength* and *Munificence* they are in a great Measure beholden to their *People*. So that the surest way for them to arrive at the sublimest Pitch of *Glory*, is to cherish and indulge their Subjects. For a *Crown* thrives by the advantageous and opulent Condition of the *People*; and the most flourishing Countries have ever produc'd the happiest Kings. So that from a Complication of such Actions as do express a Prince to be *Religious* in Divine Matters, *Prudent* in *Humane*, and *Generous* in Military; will result the illustrious *Character* and *Opinion* that is here commended.

CHAP. II.

Of the Religion and Integrity of a Prince.

THE Opinion of *Zeal* and *Sincerity* in Matters of *Religion*, is many times of so extraordinary Service to a *Prince*, that of it self alone (if it be not empty and ungrounded) it is sufficient to purchase him *Reverence*, *Affection*, and *Commendation* for the Lustre and Brightness of his *Virtues*. If his *Name* and *Credit* be establish'd among his *People*, so will also be his *Veneration*; for they will *Love* him as a *Father*, not *Fear* him as a *Tyrant*. *Religion* is continually upon the *Watch* to repulse all *Evils* and *Calamities* from annoying the *State*; the Ruine of which may justly be fear'd, if the *Prince* come once to stagger in that Point. A *Religious* Disposition is the *Glory* of the *Prince*, the *Support* of the *Empire*, the *Ciment* of *Peace* and *Unity*, and the *Comfort* of *Humane Life*. And those *Foundations* may justly be accounted *Immortal*, that are derived from *Religion* and that are bottom'd upon the solid *Marble* of *Truth*, not upon the fleeting *Sand* of *Hypocrisie*. *Christiern* (King of *Denmark*) may teach *Princes* a Lesson by his Misfortunes: who was despoil'd of three *Hereditary Kingdoms*, and being coop'd up within an *Iron Case*, most miserably compleated the Period of his *Life*. *Henry the Third* of *France* is also another unhappy Instance, being a studious Reader of the wicked *Machiavel*. As to the Examples of *Amiquity*, though they be very numerous in this Particular, yet the more *Modern* carry the greater Force and Efficacy along with them.

Fraud

Fraud and *Superstition* are the infamous Quickfands of a *Commonwealth*, whereupon that *Prosperity* is Shipwreck'd, which would otherwise, by the gentle Breezes of *Conscience* and *Integrity* filling it's Sails, float aloft in the greatest Security imaginable.

SUBTLETY dashes it self against *Simulation*, and *Sloth* against *Superstition*. Pretended Religion is commonly the Destruction of the *Hypocrites*; and a *Wolf* is easily discover'd when she undertakes to counterfeit the *Lamb*; and *Fire* rak'd up in *Asbes* cannot long be conceal'd; to act the *Fox* in Foreign Negotiations is odious, in *Divine* Concernments, *Impious*: *Truth* rendering a Prince as *Venerable*, as *Trachery* and *Falsehood* do make him *Execrable*. *Fraud* is ever harmful to the State; but much more pernicious to the Prince; for that it is reckon'd upon as an Argument of *Wisdom*, to over-reach a wily Person; and he that deceives *Many*, is at last deceiv'd himself. And when a Prince has so far abandon'd himself to the Practice of *Artifice* and fallacious Dealing, as never to be pleas'd, but while he is in *Masquerade*; it is presently cry'd up for a *Virtue* in any man that imposes upon him. All kinds of subtle and double hearted men, are generally detestable; but a fraudulent Prince is, of all others the most despicably miserable: for in *Commerce* one man expects to deal with another, and not to have to do with a *Serpent*; values a *Friend*, not a *Wolf*. *Vice* is an Abomination to *Virtue*; but *Perfidiousness* is even loathsome to *Vice* it self. It might seem to take off from the Heinousness of our first Parents miscarriage, their being deluded by the Craft of the *Serpent*: But *Cain's Villany* could meet with no Excuse or Countenance even from *Wickedness* it self. *Honest Arts*, (the single Case of *Religion* excepted) are become necessary in all *Transactions* of State; And yet rarely proceeding from true Prudence, they usually do more Hurt than Good; beside that (at best) they do border upon *Deceit*, which still degenerates into *Subtlety*. But yet to be cautious and wary, is highly commendable, for this *Simulation* is equally ignorant of *Feard* and *Envy*; whereas *Falsity*, on the other side, poisons the Heroick Integrity of the Mind, turns an *Achilles* into a *Sinon*, and is the Ruin and Destruction of *Civil Regimen*. Where you meet with a composed Countenance and a serene Brow, it promises the Fruition of *Prosperity*; and a patient Toleration of Misfortunes is an Argument of *Constancy* and *Moderation*. For a brave and generous Soul commands even *Fortune* her self; and being above her Reach it triumphs in the

greatest Calamities. But yet it is *Prudence* to keep Secret those things that it is *convenient* to *Conceal*; for no man is oblig'd to confess himself, when it is his Interest both to *Know*, and to *Seem* to be *Ignorant*. It concerns a *Prince* not to discover those Affairs that his *own* Nature require *Secrecy*. For he may be reserv'd without Injury, because this sort of *Closetness* relates to *Simulation* only, and not to *Falshood*; beside that, an *Exact Judgment*, and the Faculty of keeping his own *Councils*, are of his essential Qualifications. When *Alcibiades* was at *Lacedæmon*, he compos'd himself to a *Majestick Port*; and when among the *Athenians* he affected *Negligence* and *Facility*. During the Reign of *Cæsar*, *Clodius* laid out for the *Sword*, by a labour'd *Sottishness*. *Tiberius* was also so excellent at this *Knack* of *Disimulation*, that he prefer'd it to all other *Virtues*; he offer'd Violence to his *inclinations* in Publick, that so his *Disguise* might not be smell'd out; soliciting for *Intreaties* to accept of those *Obloquies* which he cover'd with an *Extremity* of *Ambition*. The *Emperor* *Frederick 3.* was wont to say, that he was not fit to *Govern*, that knew not how to *dissemble*. And *Tacitus* reports of *Agrippa*, that in the Senate-house he was the most Reserv'd and severe of all men; and yet the most Gentle and Pleasant Companion in the World among his Friends and Familiars; labouring as much to appease another Man in *Leisure*, as to be accounted always the same in the *House*.

MAJESTY (abstracted from all *Virtues*) ought to be inseparable from a *Prince* in his *Councils*, and in all publick *Conventions*; and his *Carriage* in other places is not to be *Remiss* and *Faulty*, to a Degree of *Idleness* and *Impairing* the Veneration due to his *Person* and *Authority*. As it is the Excellency of the *Word* that sets off the *Skill* and *Ingenuity* of the *Orator*; so do the *Princes* *Words* advance an *Opinion* of his *Wisdom*; because they are look'd upon as *Ready Acts*, or as an *Exe* and *Energy* of them. And every man lays himself open by his *Words*, as by *Colours* and a *Pencil*. The *Tongue* is compar'd to the *Helm* of a *Ship*; which although it be the *least* and *lowest* Part of the *Vessel*, yet is it able to *destroy* or *preserve* the *Whole*. A *Powerful Speaker*, let him be never so *Vicious* and *Atheistical*, is in a *Capacity* (nevertheless) to bring *Mischief* and *Calamities* upon the *best* of *Governments*. And as the *Pencil* draws the *Features* of the *Visage*, so does the *Pen* express the *Graces* and *Virtues* of the *Mind*. *Discourse* is the *Image* of a mans *Soul*.

Soul: and upon this Consideration a Grave Person being to give his Judgment of a Youth, *Speak* (says he to him) *that I may see you*. There is something of a Parallel betwixt Words and Quoins; where one stands for a great many; and a many go to the making up of an equivalent to one: the Lacedaemonians train'd up their Children in the Lacedaemonick Dialect; which is by a grateful Subtlety to express much matter in few Words; and though implying more than was spoken, yet still to speak more than could be readily understood. *Augustus Caesar* to avoid both Defect and Superfluity in his *Discourses*; would admit of no other way of arguing, than by the *Pin* and deliver'd all his Answers in *Writing*, not by word of Mouth; providing by this Policy that no unworthy thing should escape him; nor any thing worth taking Notice of be lost. *Alphonso King of Spain*, (*Simam'd the Wife*) recommended it as becoming a Monarch to speak little and low; giving this Reason for it; that *Talkativeness* brings the Gravity of a Prince in Question, and a confused Clamour detracts from his Majesty. And History tells us that *John 2. King of Portugal* made this Answer to one that being thick of Hearing desired him to speak a little higher. *It is enough for a Prince* (says he) *to vouchsafe a Favourable Audience; because it is consistent with his Dignity, to hear much, and speak little*. The Affections of his People and Dependents are to be wrought upon by *Benevolence* and *Clemency*; Nay, and even bare Words seasonably spoken are many times valued as if they had been *Actual Performances*. Amongst the *English*, *Kindness* and *Confidence* are the most prevalent Incitements to *Loyalty* and *Allegiance*; and the great Supports of the *Crown*. And *Jealousie* must needs be there groundless and inconvenient; where *Candour* and *Integrity* are the Natural Virtues of the People. *Diffidence* and *Suspicion* must be temper'd like a *Poison*, where a little *Poison* is rather wholesome, than hurtful; a moderate Dose of the one purges off and corrects the evil Humours of the Natural Body; and a just Proportion of the other, has the same Effect upon the *Politick*. A Prince may ingratiate himself with his People by commending and encouraging of noble Actions; by Countenance and Favour of Access; and by Rewarding and Honouring of *Militious Merit*.

Of the Care that a Prince ought to have, to prevent
Innovations in the State.

IT ought to be the main Care of a Prince, at his first Entrance upon his Government, to provide against all Novelties and Innovations in the Commonwealth; because the infallible way to prevent Faction and Sedition is, to exact a strict Observation of the ancient Laws and Customs of the Kingdom. And that Prince will never be able to keep the Crown firm upon his Head, that is tainted with Liberty, and inclin'd to Change; it being a common Maxim in Politiques, that such Usages and Constitutions as have been established by Time, and sanctified by Experience, will admit of no Alteration; but that against Hazard and Pickiness, and Inconstancy, proving for the most part a Persecution to the well being of the Realm, as Tyranny itself. But Novelties may be understood as referring to the Prince, or to the People. In the first Case, they engender Commotions and Disturbances; and in the other, they are to be suppressed in the Beginning of his Reign; because upon Time particularly, is obnoxious to such Practices; and that more especially too, when the Actions of the Prince do administer Fuel and Nourishment to the Humours; which comes to pass by holding the Reins of Government too Strict, or too Remissive. Where the People are naturally Vain, Perfidious, and Inconstant, it will nearly concern him to keep a very strict Eye upon them; for they will be continually hammering out some new Device or other to the Disturbance of the publick Peace. The like Care is also to be used, either when the Skirts of his Kingdom do border upon the Country of a Powerful Neighbour; when he labours under the Ill-will of a Prince that is more Potent than Himself; or when he receives the State from the hand of his Predecessor, desperately harassed and impoverished by intestine Dissentions, and dissolv'd in the Sinews of its Commerce, and the due Administration of Publick Justice. But the most dangerous Blow toward the final Destruction of it is then given, when too favourable an Ear is lent to the Proposition of introducing a Change of Religion; for if that Part stand firm, the Empire will be able to support it self against all other

other *Conspiracies*. An ill Opinion entertain'd of a Prince, is an Ingredient toward *Civil Commotions*; for if he be found *Inhabile*, or unworthy of his Royalties, it will concern him to apprehend and to provide against the most Hellish and Rebellious Outrages; and the Perill will be yet increased, if he be so unfortunate as to deliver himself up into the hands of unexperienced and avaricious *Ministers*, and discard such as are honest, and well affected to the publick Interest: for he may justly expect that *that Mischief* will fall upon his *own Head*, which he is preparing for *others*. To purchase a *Truce* or a *Peace* with *Money* is a notorious Argument of a Profligate Baseness and Poverty of Spirit; and a submitting to become *Tenant* to anothers *Will*; from a *Friend* it is reasonable to expect a *Courtesie*; but he that has once smarted by our Means, is to be lookt upon as never to be appeased: beside that the *Italian* tell us, that it is *Folly* to put Confidence in a Reconciled *Enemy*. But let him then prepare to arm himself against a *Mortal Blow*; when he perceives it bandy'd among the *Rabble* that he governs by Craft and Subtlety, and not by the Rules of Prudence.

CHAP. IV.

Of the OEconomy of a Prince.

TWO Things there are that do especially set off a Prince's Wisdom; that is to say, the good *Order* of his *Court*, and the *Discretion* of his *Ministers*; for it is a common Saying, That a man may be known by the *Company* he keeps: and we find it by Experience that the *Manners* of the *Palace Royal* are Influential upon the *whole Nation*; according to the *Order* of which, every *Particular* Family regulates its Institution; and every *Particular* man composeth himself (as near is possible) to the *Mode* of the *Courier*. The *Jews* being seduced by the wicked Example of their Kings *Achab* and *Manasse*; plung'd themselves over Head and Ears into *Lewdness* and *Idolatry*. *Francis* of *France* being a Debauched man, inflam'd all his *Nobles* to an eager Pursuit after *Knowledge*. And on the other side, *Louis* the *Arab*, and his Successor *Charles* the *Arab* being

being illiterate, and disaffected, to the Sciences, propagated the same Antipathy, over all the Realm. So powerfully does the Honest or Pious Example of the Prince contribute to the Security or Destruction of the Commonwealth. Now that must needs be a Care worthy of a Crowned Head, that tends to the cherishing of Prudence and Justice; and his Example being thus attractive of Imitation; if it be good it provokes the Subject out of meer Shame to the Practice of Piety, when they find that they cannot any longer continue in their Wickedness but by a publick dissenting from, and Defiance of the Proceedings of their Sovereign. So that the Subjects do usually keep an equal Pace with the Prince in the Path of Virtue; walking when he walks, and if he run, they do the like. His Actions are irresistible Precepts; upon giving due Heed to which, depends both their Honour and their Felicity. To observe strict Measures in his Family, will enable him to discharge the Duties of his Function with Equity and Commendation; the Publick Weal being chiefly a Participation of the Domestick. A Painter may express as much Skill, in the drawing of a Pismire, as of a Giant; and Lyeippus is not more celebrated for his Colossus, than Polycletus is admired for his Perfect Chariot under the Wings of a Wasp. It is Aristotle's Opinion, that every Family subjected under one proper Head, is a Little City, and that a City under the Command of one Prince is no more than a numerous or extended Family. Philo was also of the same Mind; observing a kind of Superiority throughout all the Reason and Conditions of Humane Life. For look what a Monarch does upon his Throne, the very same in Proportion will you find perform'd by the Governour of a Province, the General of an Army, and the Master of a Family.

BUT yet it is most certain that the larger the Room is, the more Lights will be required to the supplying of it; and that Candle that is sufficient for a Closet, would be of little or no Use in a spacious Hall; and how insufficient do many men appear in a Publick Capacity, who in a Private State were look'd upon as highly able and discerning? Galba, whilst a Private man, was generally esteem'd worthy of the greatest Dignities; and all men would have judg'd him qualify'd for a Senator, if he had never been chosen Emperour; but his Actions, after his Promotion, sufficiently declar'd how unequal he could be to Himself, and to his Royal Fortunes. Whereas Terentius upon his Advancement as unexpectedly confuted those Calumnies,

nies, with which the Maligners of his Glory had scandalously bespatter'd him; dispersing by the Force and Brightness of his *Virtnes* the vaporous Clouds of *Popular Odium* and *Prejudices*. Some generous *Spirits* there are, whose Vigour and Resolution do gather *New Strength* upon the Increase of *Perils* and *Difficulties*: others again do *truckle* and grow effeminate upon the Encounter of *Hardships*. So that the *Soul* is the Life of *Action*, and no *Wise Prince* will ever commit any Offices of eminent Trust and Importance to the Charge of a *Raw* and unexperient'd Person. Softness and Humility in a *Private Condition* degenerates into a languishing Feebleness, in a *Publick*; and such again as are over nice and critical in the most minute Concerns of a *Family*, are equally incapable of Commanding and Obeying; and do prove *bad Servants*, but *worse Masters*.

NOW there is no Question to be made, but that *Virtue* and *Vice*, the *Tranquillity* and *Perturbation* of the *Realm*, and the *Reputation* or *Infamy* of the *Prince*, do in a great Measure derive their Growth and Being from the *Manners* and *Oeconomy* of the *Palace*. It is also to be consider'd, that there never yet was any *Prince* so Absolute and Sufficient as not to stand in Need of Humane Help and Service; for, *Self-Subsistency*, to *want Nothing*, and to *give to All*, are the Peculiar Attributes of the *Deity*. So that a Prince must *make men* that he may *have men*; neither of which Advantages will he be able to gain, so long as by the Poyson of a lewd Example he utterly ruins the *Bad* and corrupts the *Good*. A good *Servant* is a Credit to his *Master*; and it is no small Addition to the Lustre of a *Prince*, the Temperance and Moderation of his *Domesticks*; which also enhances the Dignity and Veneration of the *Court* it self. It will also become him to contemplate the Frailty and Uncertainty of *Humane Actions*; how obnoxious they be to Chance and Misarrriages. For *Augustus Cæsar* at the very height of his Prosperity, and upon his vaunting that the Empire was divided betwixt *Jupiter* and *Himself*, was yet never so far transported with the Smile of his Happy Condition, as to forget the Treachery and Inconstancy of *Fortune*; but would most severely censure the Licentious Extravagances of his *Courtiers*, what Liberties soever he allow'd himself. It may sometimes be excusable, if not commendable, to be frequent in obsequious Addresses and Attendances upon the *Court*; provided it be done with an *Honour* Intention, and for diversion sake; for it is a notorious

Truth

Truth that *Courtiers* are generally as brittle as *Glass*, *Servers* of the *Times*, and by being destitute of *Sincerity*, do occasion infinite *Mischief*s and *Tragical Outrages*.

NAY so tender a Concern ought a Prince to have for his *Reputation*, that he should be as careful to avoid giving Colour to *Detraction* and *Slander*, as of actual *Guilt*. A *Villany* clearly prov'd upon a *Subject*, brands him with *Infamy*, but in him the bare *Suspicion* is criminal. If a *Minister* discharge the Duties of his Office dexterously, it is all that is expected from him: But it is not enough for a *Prince* to be conscious to himself of his own Innocence and Integrity, for he must also labour not to give the least Umbrage for an Apprehension of the Contrary. If the *Servant* be *Honest*, his Work is done; but a *King* is obliged to set a Step further; and not only to be just, but even to appear to be so: In the first Case we are beholden to *Virtue*, and in the other to *Fortune*; for though it be in every mans Power to make himself such as he is taken to be; yet it is a particular Grace of *Fortune* to be Thought to be what he really is. It is no hard Matter for a man to preserve his Honour untinted with any heinous Offence; but the *English* are not willing to admit of any one as truly *Honest*, that keeps not himself clear from the very *Suspicion* of *Injustice*; it being natural to them to detect *Infamy*, and to abominate *Vice*. But a *Mean* is the best in all things; and it is an Argument of an invidious and reprobate Spirit to harbour *Jealousies* till they come to *Creep*, to cherish them till they are able to do *Mischief*; and to give more Credit to *Hear-say-Vices*, than to open and notorious *Virtues*: It was a Judgment inflicted upon our first Parents for their Transgression, that their Posterity should be equally liable to *Vice* it self, and to the Imputation of it. *Example* works more upon us than *Punishment*. And it is the Glory of a *Prince*, to be a Religious Observer of the *Law*; to be ashamed of *Publick Crimes*, and afraid of *Secret* ones; the first of which do wound his Honour, the other his Conscience; to attract *Reverence*, and not to expose his Grandure to *Contempt*, by an unworthy Carriage. Let him first get the Mastery over himself, before he pretend to enlarge his *Dominions*; and then his Title to them will be double, and as well the Right of his Merit, as of his Birth. And it is his Worth that ought to render him valuable above all others, and not his Quality; for it is far more illustrious to be a Prince by his *Virtues*, than by *simple Nature*: and his Piety will also engage both the Affections of his Subjects, and their Imitation.

CHAP. V.

Of Distributive Justice.

OF such considerable Importance is an equal Distribution of *Publick Justice*; by attracting the Eyes, and raising the Hopes and Fears of the People: that a *Prince* ought to look upon it, as the great *Instrument* whereby to advance his own *Glory*, and the Welfare and Security of his *Dominions*. Now it may be divided into three Parts. *Commutative, Distributive, and Punitive*. The first exercises it self in matters of *Traffick and Commerce*; and in the common Offices of *Giving and Receiving*. The Second consists in distributing of *Honours and Preferments, Rewards and Gratuities*, when good Service, Affection, and true Desert do make a Claim to them. And the Third is employ'd in inflicting *Punishments*, in Proportion to the *Quality* of the Crime; whether Trivial or Heinous, Publick or Private. The Obligations of *Commutative Justice* are discharged by the *Princes* chusing of able Ministers; keeping a strict Eye over their Actions and Behaviour; and preventing any Occasion of Grievance or Complaint, by preserving every man in the great Possession of that which of Right belongs to him; Generosity, Prudence and Equity, do qualifie him for the *Distributive*. And the *Punitive* being of an ignoble and interior Prospect, will not require so very much of the *immediate* Care of a *Prince*; because he should ever be more propense to *Clemency* than to *Rigor*. The Emperour *Trajan* was so remarkably excellent in these several Branches of *Justice*, above all his *Predecessors*; that he had deservedly bestow'd upon him the Characteristical Epithete of THE MOST JUST. Some there are that have preferr'd *Distributive Justice*, as more essential to the Well-being of a *State*, than *Commutative*: because the adjudging to *this* man what properly belong'd to *That*, amounts to little more than a *Private* Injury. Whereas the honouring and enriching of an *Unworthy* Person, compleats an Injurious Affront upon all the well-deserving *Gentlemen* in the Kingdom: and in Truth there is a great Difference betwixt the exasperating of two or three *Leisured* Fellows, and the creating of *Ill Blood* in the whole Body of the *Nobility*. In time of *Peace*, such Practices are accounted *Tyrannical*; and of *War*, *Pernicious*. So that in all Seasons great Caution is to

be us'd in *this* Case, but especially in *Turbulent*, because Envy and Discontent have prov'd the Ruine of the most flourishing *Empires*. This *Error* never fails of *sou'ring* the Peoples *Affections*; but in times of *War* and *Distraction* it is *Fatal*; Integrity, and a right Understanding among the great *Ministers*, being then especially to be with'd for in an extraordinary Proportion. In *Military* Affairs also an unworthy Officer is capable of doing a great deal of *Mischief*, and to involve the Nation in insuperable Calamities; by provoking the Peoples *Fury*, beyond the Bounds of *Allegiance*: and hurrying them into *Rebellion*. Thus have the Bonds of Government been *loos'd*, *Victory* crops in the Bud, *Forts* and *Castles* *Demolish'd*, and the very Prince himself *expos'd* to the greatest Perils. So *vehement* and *formidable* are those *Resentments* that proceed from a wounded *Honour*: To advance such to Places of *Trust*, as are destitute of necessary Qualifications, bears sore upon the *Princes* Credit that presers them, detracts from the Dignity of the *Office*, hazards the very *Government* it self, by the Folly of their Administration; and makes such deep Impressions upon those of clearer Merit, that they can unconcernedly behold a Tendency of all things to Confusion, in hopes of bringing their King to a Sight of his *Error*. It is natural to all men, (and to the *English* especially) to be impatiently sensible of the loss of *Honour*; and account it then to be *taken away* from them, when it is *refused* to their *Virtues*. It sorely affects the *State*, the distributing of *Favour* and *Rewards* to the *Undeserving*. But a blind and inconsiderate Collation of *Honours* operates yet more powerfully upon the *Spirits* of the Nobles. Beside that the *Favourite* himself is never satisfy'd, but still gaping after more, and greater *Preferments*, and challenging them as his Due: for no Body knows how to *value* *Honour*; but he that *merits* it. It falls as a *Judgment* upon him that cherishes such men, to be perpetually tortur'd with *Mutterings* and *Complaints*; for these ungrateful Wretches looking upon themselves as injur'd, if any thing falls beside them, do still vex him with *Rebels* of their *Wants*, but never return any *Thanks* for what they have receiv'd. So that a Prince ought to be very careful not to suffer himself to be overpersuaded by the canting Entreaties of a humble *Impostor*, or to grant that to *Importunity*, which he had deny'd to *Desert*. For by so doing he would erect a *Trade* of *Begging*, and encourage a *Violence* against his *Will*; *Virtue* would be *hew'd*, and *Impudence* always sent away full-handed. *Theodosius* lost his Empire by misplacing of his *Bounties*: And *Lewis* the sixth

of France was within a very little of undergoing the *same* Fate, by the *same* Error. For the natural Effect of *Mistakes* of this Quality is *Scandal* upon the *Prince*, and *Misery* upon the *People*. But those *Monarchs* that have mist this Rock, by carrying an *Even* hand in the Distribution of Honours and Preferments, have reign'd like *Gods upon Earth*, and rais'd to themselves *Monuments of Immortal Glory*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Private Favour of a Prince.

IT does most nearly concern a *Prince* to observe the strictest *Equality* imaginable in the distributing of his *Grace* and *Favour* among his *Subjects*. For by a *Violation* of the common *Tranquillity* of the *Realm*, a *Confusion* of *Councils*, and an *Interruption* of publick *Justice*; all *men* and *Conditions* are laid *Level*. And that *Monarch* that delivers himself up into the hands of a *Favourite*; slips insensibly into a *Labyrinth of Frauds and Delusions*; which will be more or less dangerous, according to the *Honesty* or *Perfidiousness* of the *Privado*, at whose *Mercy* he lyes. It stood *Tiberius* in no small *Stead*, his smelling out the *Practices* of *Sejanus*, and the extricating himself out of those *Toyls*, that he was trapann'd into. And it put *Arcadius* hard to't, to sound the *Deligns* and *Machinations* of *Rufinus*. But yet by his *Indefatigable Industry* he wrought through all at last. There never was any *State* entirely free from *Enemies* and *Ill-willers*; but be doubtless is the most pernicious of them that labours to enslave the *Prince* to any one of his *Courtiers*, whom by the *Impulse* of an *immoderate Kindness* he has condescended to admit to the most secret *Consults* and *Deliberations* of the *Government*. For it is the *Duty* of such a one to behave himself according to the *Condition* of a *Subject*, and not with the *State* and *Majesty* of a *Sovereign*. Experience tells us that by a *Princes* discovering his *Weak-side*, and following the *Dictates* of an *immoderate Affection*; he not only lays open a *Passage* for his *Frauds*, and *Relations*, but also for his *Enemies* and *Emulatores* to take Ad-

vantage of. Here will enter the *Hopes* and *Expectations* of his Courtiers and Dependents; who will ever be ready to attribute *that* to the Kindness of the *Favourite*, which was in Truth the pure Effect of the *Princes* Liberality and Providence. Hence will spring up *Sloth* and *Baseness* among his Councillors; for there will still be some found amongst them, who to curry Favour with so mighty a *Confident*; will not stick most slavishly to fawn upon and crouch to him, and *say* and *swear* whatever he would have them. *May*, and which is worst of all, they will lose their *Freedom of Suffrage*, together with their *Integrity*; and demean themselves in the Council more like the *Humble Companions* of the *Court-Favourite*, than as *Counsellors* to a *Monarch*. Factions and Discords will be encreas'd, by the Malevolence and Emulation of the *Nobility*; and every man will sacrifice Truth and Justice to the Service of *that* Party which they hope to get the *most* by. And thus also will all Military Prowess and Vigour be enfeebled; because he will never serve his *Prince* against his own private Interest; and being oblig'd to cast about for his Security, which he finds to be endanger'd by the Irruption of a *War*, (though never so just and necessary) he presently sets himself to work either wholly to *change* the Resolution, or to *delay* and *protract* the Execution of it, as may be most for his Advantage. But if he finds himself unable (alone) to work about the Ends he drives at, then he calls a Friend into his Assistance, how unfit soever for such a Trust. And if he perceives the *General* of the Army to be less submissive and complying, than stands with *his* Humour; he labours so to obstruct the common Course of his Proceedings, as to frustrate all his well-laid Designs, and to disappoint him in his Endeavours to get the *Better* of his *Enemy*: By these Jew'd Arts he seeks to improve the Opinion of his own *Valour*, and insolently postpones his *Princes* *Honour*, to the Gratification of his *own* private *Animosities*. He will also have the same Influence upon the *Courts* of Justice; as having the *Magistrates* at his *Beck*, either through *Fear* or *Avarice*. For although the *Law* in it self carries always the *same* Fact, and speaks the *same* Language, yet the *Expounders* of it (a sort of men generally mercenary and ambitious) do often turn it into a *Node* of Wax, and mould it into so many Forms, that they may more rightly be term'd *Perversers* of the *Law*, than *Interpreters* of it. All such *Abuses* (whether done in Favour of a *Native*, or a *Foreigner*, comes all to a Point) do blast the Fame of the *Prince*, and expose the *Common Equity* of the *Kingdom* to *Questi-*

in and Contempt: for they especially, do labour under the Imputation of all the Mischievous Effects of them. Inſomuch, that though a Prince dem:an himſelf with never ſo much *Prudence* and *Moderation* in other Reſpects, yet if he fall ſhort in *this* Particular, either through an Obſtinacy of Will, or an effeminate Softneſs of Diſpoſition: it is ſufficient to darken and ſuppreſs the Luſtre of all his other *Virtues*. As to the *Favourite*, all his Care is to keep himſelf *Right* in the Affections of his Maſter, becauſe he looks upon it as an undeniable Argument of his own great Abilities and Ingenuity, the engaging a Perſeverance of the Princes good Opinion of him. And in Truth it is no ealie Matter to preſerve the Favour of ſuch *Princes* as are naturally light and unſteady; and only conſtant in Inconſtancy. Now there are ſix things that moſt *Favourites* are zealouſly induſtrious of acquiring. *Fiſt*, he endeavours to work the Prince into a Confidence that all his Thoughts and Actions are ſolely directed to the Service and Advantage of the *Royal Interests*, though never ſo *oppreſs* to his own *Private Benefit*. *Secondly*, he ſtudies by Artifice and Juggle, to caſt ſuch a Miſt before his Eyes, as may hinder him from diſcovering any thing in his *Carriage*; but what is highly agreeable to his own Humour and Inclination. *Sejanus* was the beſt in the World at this *Device*; for he ſo ingeniouſly counterfeited the Manners and Affections of his Maſter, that he ſeem'd rather to be another *Tiberius*, than *Tiberius's* Friend. And yet all his Craft and Subtlety was not able to ſecure him from the *Stroke* of *Justice*; for it is very rare that ſuch *Vices* terminate, but in the tragical *Cataſtrophe* of the Cherithers of them. *Thirdly*, all the *Weakneſſes* and *Infirmities* of the Prince, he is ſure either to *Leſſen* and *Relieve*, or by a Profligate and Parahical Flattery to *excell*, as ſingular *Gifts* and *Perfections*. And this kind of *Adulation* is intolerably ridiculous, when impoſed upon a *Shallow* and *Feeble Prince*. *Fourthly*, he is indefatigably diligent to remove from the Princes Side, all men of *Honour* and *Virtue*; becauſe he looks upon all ſuch as the mortal Enemies of his Treacheries. *Fiſthly*, he leaves no ſtone unturned to bring an *Odium* and *Diſgrace* upon his *Emuſioners* and *Oppoſers*; but in this Caſe he ſeldom deals aboveboard; being very careful in *Harbouring* of his *Enemies*, not to bring any *Inconvenience* upon himſelf. And *Laſtly*, the moſt cunning of theſe *Impoſtors* have ever behaved themſelves in all publick Conventions with the utmoſt *Servility* and *Obſequiouſneſs*; but others again being heedleſs of concealing their Power under ſo plauſible a Cover, have man-

ground and split themselves upon the *Quick-sands of Vanity and Insolence*. History furnishes us with divers Instances of such People, who under pretence of rendering their Princes Great and Glorious, have most impudently depriv'd them of their *Crowns and Lives*, and then step into their Places. Only the Comfort is, that it fares with *Ambition*, as with the *Droffie*, where the quenching of *Thirst* carries certain Death along with it. But yet they do still play on like desperate *Gamesters*; and when they are mounted to the *Achme* of Promotion, they scorn the Condition of a Subject, and will take up with nothing less than an equal Degree of *Authority and Veneration* with their *Masters*. Nay and beside the Danger of this Monopoly of *Favour*, it does also reproach the *Prince* with a Meanness and Pusillanimity of Spirit, as one that faints and languishes under the Weight of *Majesty*, and basely submits to put the *Royal Vestments* upon the Back of a Court-Favourite. And the *Mischief* spreads further yet, if the Person thus advanc'd be as unworthy as his Master. For if *Incapacity* be sufficient to shake the very Foundation of the *Justest Title*, how much more hard will it press upon a *Claim* of *Insolence and Usurpation*? For nothing certainly touches the *English* more to the Quick, than the *Folly and Injustice* of the *Courts*; which *Fines* are powerful enough of themselves (without the Assistance of a generous Indignation) to unhinge the *Government*, and confound the *Order and Harmony of Civil Proceedings*.

AND yet in Regard that Princes are but *Men*, and consequently subject to *Errors and Infirmities*, it seems to be somewhat hard, to deny them this *Privilege* which the meanest *Subject* has a fair Pretence to; I mean the *Society of a Familiar Friend*, to whom he may unbosom himself upon all Occasions. And we may read that the *Wisest Princes* have ever made Choice of a Person to their *Liking*, as a *Participant* of all their *Cares and Troubles*. Only they pitch'd upon such as were *Prudent and Modest*, and that would not improve the *Liberty of Friendship* to the Prejudice of their *Masters Honour*. Now this Policy has stood many *Princes* in great Stead; for by dispensing of their *Authority* to such of their *Subjects* as were truly worthy of it, they have gain'd great *Reputation*, and enjoy'd the *Fruits* of the Diligence and Fidelity of their *Ministers*, who were full generously Sollicitous of attributing the Justice of their own *Administration* to the *Providance and Abilities* of their *Sovereign*. Thus ought a true *Servant* to carry himself in all his Actions, by
giving

giving to the *Prince* the Honour of all *Successfull Counsells*, and imputing *Miscarriages* to *other Hands*. The more *Truly* and *Faithful* the *Ministers* prove, the more glorious becomes the *Master* of them: so that I shall again inculcate my Advice; for observing the exactest Care imaginable in their *Election*.

CHAP. VII.

Of Taxes and Tribute.

AS it is the Work of *Distributive Justice*, to oblige an *Equal* *Liberty* and *Proportion* in the conferring of *Honours* and *Gratuities*: so is it also a Branch of the *same* *Principle*, the following the *like* *Rules* in the matter of *Impositions*; for if the *Scale* bear too hard upon the *Populace*, it is enough to ruin them. The *Government* is then rightly administered, when it keeps off from *Violence* and *Oppression*; for then it will fare well, both with the *People* and with their *Prerogative*. It is the Interest of the *Subject*, to be liberal in their Contributions, toward the supplying the *Necessities* of the *Crown*, the defraying the *Expenses* of a *Just* *War*, and toward the *Defence* and *Security* of the *Kingdom*. *Future* *Calamities* may be prevented by a diligent *Forefight*; and those *Darts* do us but little Hurt that we are aware of before hand, and have a *Success* in *Readiness* to break their Force. The *Loyalty* and *Affection* of the *People* toward their *Prince*, and the Bond of mutual *Charity* one to another, is the great *Pludge* of the *Felicity* of *both*. *Nay* *Concord* and *Unity* are more necessary even than *Justice* itself, because where *Unity* is predominant, *All* lie in *Common* to *Particulars*, and *Particulars* to *All*; and *Distribution* becomes *superfluous* amongst *Friends*. So that it is a glorious Work, the promoting of such *Felicity*. And *Moral Philosophy* will be of singular Use in this Case; the Design of which is to cement *Affections*, to encourage *Honesty* and *Order* in all *Civil Actions*, to reduce the *Principles* of the *Learned* into *Practice*, and to distinguish betwixt *Right* and *Wrong*, *Virtue* and *Vice*. It is therefore the *Obligation* of a *Prince* to *consider* and regulate his *Taxes* according to the *Urgency* of *Affairs*, and the *Ability* of the *People*;

People; and with a Regard also both to *Particular Persons*, and to the *Cause* of the *Expense*. And then on the *other* side, it is the *Duty* of the Subject to furnish their *Sovereign* with such Supplies as may capacitate him to *Govern* them with *Justice*, and *defend* them from *Violence*; which it is impossible for him to do, without *Arms*, and *Contributions* toward the Support of them. When the *Strength* of our *Enemies* about us, is grown so formidable, as to encourage them to undertake the Conquest of our Country, the Destruction of the People, the despoiling us of all we have, and the final Extirpation of our very Memory; it is much the safer and braver Course to hazard our *All*, for the Preservation of our *Lives*, *Honour*, *Laws*, *Liberties*, *Religion*, and all that is *dear* to us; than through *Niggardize* and *Covetousness* to have it swept away (as *Plunder*) by a merciless *Victor*. Now in all *Exactions*, two Rules are to be observ'd; First, that all *Resolves* be executed by the *Gentlest* and *Sweetest Means* possible. And Secondly, That the *Scope* of all the *Princes Allions* be directed to the *Benefit* and *Security* of the *Commonwealth*. There can no certain Computation be made beforehand of the Charges of an *Intended War*; nay and even the very *Event* of the *War* it self is equally *uncertain*; so that there is no previous prescribing to *Taxes* in the Case; because the momentary *Variety* of *Accidents* and *Occurrences*, renders the *Expense* altogether as various. But both these *Errors* are equally *Pernicious*, viz. an unnecessary and tyrannical *Polling* on the one hand; and an avaricious *Closetedness*, on the other.

THE Pressures of the Subject in this Point may be divided into four Heads; viz. Peculiar Contributions, Personal Service, a Regard to Royal Immunities, and emergent Disbursements, toward the supplying the Necessities of Camps and Garrisons. The First are either settled, and Customary; or extraordinary Additions to the Revenues of the Crown, upon contingent Exigences of State. The Second is engag'd either by entering into the King's Pay, or upon the Score of Knight-Service. The Third consists of such *Franchises* as the Prince reserves to himself; as *Forrests* (for Instance) *Fields*, *Rivers*, *Lands*, and such other *Privileges* as are appropriated, and invested in the Crown. And Lastly, the Conveniences of Camps and Garrisons is a Subject worth insisting upon, if time would permit. Now common *Taxes* do then become *Unjust*, when they are either unseasonably and unequally exacted, or gather'd by barbarous and inhu-

many *Collectors*, by whose insolent Carriage a *Tax* *Door*, is many times turn'd into down right *Extortion*. The *Extraordinary* are render'd *Criminal*, by being charg'd in a greater Proportion than the People are able to bear, and the practicing of divers *Arts* to create *Monopolies*. And it is a great Addition to the *Grievance*, when the Money thus collected, is not employed to its *Proper End*; but diverted (by the *Treachery* of the great *Officers*) to the Service of *Private Interests*, in Opposition to that of the *Publick*. And yet even that *Tribute* that is limited both as to *Time* and *Proportion*, is not wholly free from a kind of *Violence*; because there is as wide a Difference betwixt a *Voluntary* and a *Compulsive Contribution*, as betwixt a *Frank* and an *Extorted Charity*: all men being obliged to have a Concern for the *Common Good* and *Welfare* of the Kingdom. But yet many are exempted from this weighty *Burthen*: either by the *Prerogative* of their *Office*, or the sacred *Immunities* of their *Profession*. An overrigorous *Exaction* of a *stated Tribute*, is both dangerous and impolitick, for it not only detracts from the Value of a *Spontaneous Disbursement*, but breeds ill Blood also both in the *Collectors*, and in the *People*; which, though it is no hard Matter to correct in the *First*, yet in the *other*, the *Disorder* most what proves *incurable*; now there must be an exact *Equality* observ'd in this *Case*; which may easily be done, by *assessing* every man proportionably to their real *Worth* and *Expences*. *Time* is the *Touche-stone* of *Truth*, and it is most certain that *Illegal Impositions* are more *pernicious* than *Legal* ones are *Commodious*. As to the *Injustice* of *Personal Servitude*, it proceeds either from the entertaining of more *Soldiers*, than the *Country* is able to maintain, from the *Covetousness* of the *Officers*, who do many times cause men to be rais'd and employ'd upon idle and unprofitable *Enterprizes*, only to squeeze *Money* out of them for their *Commissions*; or else, from exacting *Duty* from them without allowing them their *Pay*. So likewise those that by *Knight-Service*, and their *Dependence* upon the *Crown*, are oblig'd to serve it, when call'd upon, have met with very ill Usage many times, by being unnecessarily convoked. But indeed a true Friend to his *Country* will stand in more need of a *Bridle*, than of a *Spur*, when that requires his Aid: for to serve it was ever accounted *Honourable*, and to *die* in the *Defense* of it, *Glorious*. But there are a sort of querulous and avaricious men that are perpetually complaining of the weight of their *Burthen*, and are more concern'd at parting with a *Penny* for the Security of the Kingdom, than at the imminent

Danger that threatens it. To preserve the *Royal Prerogative* and *Perquisites* from Violation and Encroachments, will be no very hard Task; provided no Recourse be had to *Harshness* and *Severity*, while the Work may be done by *Vigilance* and *Moderation*. For these *Regalities* are seldom put to any great Stress, unless it be upon the Introduction of such ungrateful *Novelties*, as do fret and provoke *Publick Humours* and Discontents. This *France* pretended to be her Case under *Henry 3.* and *Spain* also did the like, upon the Profits of the *Salt-Pits* being appropriated to the *Crown*. As to the *Conveniences* of *Camps* and *Garrisons*, the People do generally bear them with great *Uneasiness*, and *Regret*; and such *Nations* more especially, who are naturally prone to *Jealousie*, *Parcimony*, and to live within a narrow *Compass*. The *English* have ever resented them as an insupportable Burthen, and borne them with more Impatience and Indignation, than any other People. The Excessive Poverty of *Philip* the Third of *Spain*, was chiefly occasion'd by the *Injustice* in Lodging his *Army* in the Bowels of *Italy*. And we are able to speak upon a dear bought Experience, how miserable and calamitous the Condition of those Countries must needs be, who labour under the Imposition of *Free-Quarter*, and *Billeting* of *Souldiers*. And the *Concept* that resembled it to *Mowing*, was quaint enough; for the People are fleec'd and par'd to the very Root (as it were) by the licentious Insolencies of such *Boisterous Gusts*. A Grievance of this Quality that overpowers the *Ability* and thwarts the *Inclination* of the *Subject*, is so very apt to engender *Plots* and *Conspiracies* against the *Government*; that to this very Cause chiefly, have all wise men imputed *Naples*, and *Millan's* Detestation of the *French Government*; and thus it far'd also with the *Biscainers*. Under the *Head* of *Distributive Justice* are also comprehended such *Privileges* and *Immunities*, as the *Prince* has been pleas'd to confer upon *Eminent Merit* and *Virtue*; a Violation of which either in the whole, or in Part, do work up Discontents to a dangerous Pitch, and stretch the sacred Obligations of the *Coronation Oath*: Administring the most colourable *Pretexts* to inflame the Multitude to *Rebellious outrages* against the *Civil Regimen*; especially in those Countries where there is a predominant *Tenderness* for the common *Liberties* and *Welfare* of the *Realm*. But yet all *Neutrality* is then to be laid aside, when the dangerous State of the *Commonwealth* commands our utmost *Assistance*; for this will admit of no *Exemption*: Nor indeed is it just that when the *Security* of the Kingdom is set at

Stake,

Stake, any particular Person should be *Exempted*, that is capable of *Serving* it; but every man (contrariwise) is obliged to *Contribute* to the utmost of his Power. Thus we see that the observing a just *Equality* in the conferring of *Honours*, and settling of *Assessments*, is the solid Basis of *Distributive Justice*; which will give a Prince *Security at Home*, and *Victory over his Enemies Abroad*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Punitive Justice.

IT is the Business of *Corrective Justice* (as I have hinted before) to reform our *Manners*, by inflicting *Punishments* suitable to the *Crime*, whether *Trivial* or *Heinous*, *Publick* or *Private*. All *Controversies* that arise upon the *Subjects* of *Traffick*, *Bargains*, and *Contracts* (of which there are a great Number) must be determin'd by a *Trial at Law*. But if the *Offense* be *Murder*, *Theft*, *Fraud*, or any *Private Violence* offer'd by one man to another, it must be redress'd by *Criminal Process*. Now there are four things requir'd as *essential* to the due Administration of *Justice*, in these *Particular Cases*; that is to say, the *Quality* of the *Law*, the *Abilities* of the *Judge*, a *Freedom* from *Prejudice* or *Prepossession*, and the *Integrity* of the *Prince*. As to the *Quality* of the *Law*, three things are to be consider'd concerning it; *First*, it must be accommodate to the *Genius* and *Temper* of the *People*, even as a *Medicine* is adapted to the *Nature* of the *Disease* and the *Constitution* of the *Body*. *Secondly*, the *Punishment* must answer the *Default*, in an *Arithmetical* *Proportion*. And *Thirdly*, it should curb and restrain as much as possible the *Arbitrariness* of the *Judge*; because those kind of *Magistrats* being (for the *Generality* of them) *impotently* propense to *Morosity* and *Sourness*, and hurry'd on by *Passion*, do never think better of themselves, (or at least believe not that others do so) then whilst they appear to be transported with *Anger* and *Bitterness* to all their *Resolutions*.

TO *Understand*, to *Will*, and to *Execute*, are the three main *Qualifications* of a worthy *Judge*: For *First*, without *Understanding* and

Learning in the Law, no man is fit for so important a *Charge*, or to concern himself in the *Decision of Controversies* concerning it. Secondly, a *Will* is absolutely necessary, because if he be negligent and *Weak* in his *Office*, or bring not a *Willing Mind* along with him, he can never be able to carry an even hand in his *Decisions*. And *Lastly*, without *Execution*, his *Skill* in the *Law*, and the *Honesty* of his *Will*, will avail but little; for the *Prince* will be *Defam'd*, *Villany* pass *Scotfree*, and *Vice* encouraged, where through the *Stoiffulness*, *Puffblowness*, or *Corruption* of the *Officers*, *Decrees* are not put in *Execution*. Now *Moderation* is a *General Rule* in this *Case*; for it is much better to be *Lov'd* than *Fear'd*. *Candour* and *Honesty* are *Virtues* worthy of a *Seat* in the *Princes Breast*, which must also be enrich'd with a *Merciful Generosity*, and a *Generous Clemency*. The *Mind* also must be immoveably firm, and not to be sway'd by any *Motives of Prejudice* or *Partiality*; which are *Weaknesses* below the *Dignity* of a *Monarch*. It will suffice that the *Prince* receive a brief *Account* of the *Events* of *Trials*; but when there is a *Necessity* for the *Law* to take its *Course*, it will not be prudent to suffer himself to be prevail'd upon to obstruct it. It is highly commendable, a *Courage* sufficient to *Fill* the *Royal Throne*, and answer the *Exigencies* and *Expectations* of the *Government*; and yet *Punishments* and *Penalties*, are to be inflicted in such *Manner* as that it may appear to be the *Rigour* of the *Law*, and not the *Cruelty* of the *King*, that presses them. He must also be very *Generous*, that so he may as well know how to spare and favour his *Loving Subject*, as to bridle and crush the *Insolent* and *Mischievous*. For it contributed equally to the *Honour* of *Cesar*, his sparing *Many* and his Conquering *All*. So, that he must be more inclin'd to *Mercy*, than to *Severity*; and sometimes it may so fall out, that an affected and industrious *Ignorance* of a *Crime* does contribute more to a *Princes Glory*, than his taking notice of, but pardoning it. The *Greeks* had a *Law* that enjoin'd the forgetting and passing over of *Injuries*. And *Experience* makes it good, that the *Fidelity* of the *People*, and the *Integrity* of the *Prince*, are the two *Capital Supports* of all *Governments*. *Mercy* is indeed a *Princely Virtue*; as having *Affairs* with moderate *Rigour*, not with *Cruelty*. And it is a strong *Argument* of a *Solid Prudence*, to be able to keep up betwixt the two *Extremes*, and to temper *Majesty* with *Clemency*. Nay it is as well *Necessary*, as *Becoming*; because it reconciles *Fear* and *Reverence*; and it is much more glorious for a *Prince* to command the

to the Credit of a Physician: This Calling the Doctors Abilities in Question, and the Others the Princees Goodness and Moderation. To be strict in the Examining of all Offences, is to diminish them; which many times is not proper to be done. For we find that the Memory of a Crime prevails more toward the propagating of Vice and Audaciousness, than the Punishment of it is effectual to their Discouragement. If the Fault proceed from Facility, it deserves Favour; if from Ignorance, Pardon; and if from the Malice of another, there is the Comfort of a Clear Conscience. It is not safe to take Cognizance of some Crimes, for Fear of making them Publick by Sentence, and the President do more Honour to the State, than the Honour of the Causon can Advantage it. The most exquisite Punishment of heinous and unparallel'd Villanies arises from a Sense of the Guilt of them: But however all Judgments ought to be clear of Passion and Prejudice; and while the Magistrate condemns as a God, he should remember that he's but a Man. It is Prudent to conceal and keep private all such Sentences, as do favour of Rigour, or of Facility; and it is equally Unjust to Hang none, and to Spare none; so that Necessity must overrule in the Case. For Reward and Punishment are the main Reins of the Government; and he who pardons all Offences promiscuously, makes himself an Abettor of them. To suffer Injustice to pass Scot-free, is to approve of it; Virtue will be oppress'd, if it be deliviate of Reasonage, or made to suffer in the room of Vice. But yet there is a great Difference betwixt the Comfort of having *good*, when it lay in our Power to have Destroy'd, and of having Destroy'd when we might have *good*. A Publick Minister that abuses his Trust, deserves to be severely handled; because the Scandal cast upon his Office weighs heavier than the Crime it self. Tacitus tells us, that Vice is imputable to the Men, and not to the Times; because humane Nature is prone to all Evil. So that Seneca could in affirming the Contrary.

The Conclusion.

BY Religion, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, men are in an eminent Manner qualify'd for the Service of the Commonwealth. And Policy and History were invented for the Encouragement of Virtue; and for the same End also was this Discourse undertaken; in which we have commended the Just and Deserving, and reprehended those that were otherwise; by neglecting the Means of attaining to a Proportion of Knowledge suitable to the Dignity

nity of their Function. For Great *Souls* are only to be mov'd by *Reason* and *Example*. It is a *Folly* to imagine that Heroick Enterprizes are to be achiev'd by small Pains. So that among the many Ingredients necessary for the constituting of a Glorious Prince, and a Happy Government, worthy *Actions* ought not to be pretermitted. True it is that the Attempt of forming a Prince perfect in all Respects, is rather *Generous* than *Feasible*: and yet it is expedient to extol a Brave Prince, as well for the Dignity of the *President*, as to inflame all other Monarchs with a like Desire of Glory. To Brand and Stigmatize *Vice*, may be yet more profitable; for it will quicken Endeavours to Correct and Resist the Corrupt and Adulterated Impression of a vitiated *Nature*; and to Govern themselves by the Rules of *Justice* and *Reason*. It is the constant Care of *Seamen* to keep themselves clear of such Rocks, and other Places, as are infamous for Wracks and Miscarriages. And all wise Monarchs have still been solicitous to avoid the Train of *Vice*, as the notorious *Quick-sand* upon which so many have miserably split themselves, and perish'd. But I dare venture to recommend this that I have chalk'd out as a safe and commodious Path. For the three Fundamentals of Policy being *Counsel*, *Strength*, and *Reputation*; it concerns a Prince to reflect soberly upon it, how much *Stead* able and faithful Ministers have stood him in; how much his *Care* touching *Military Conveniences* has contributed to the Strength and Security of his *Dominions*; and the *Justice* and *Exaltation* of Civil Administrations, to the purchasing of *Honour*, and the immortalizing of his *Memory*: and when he has cast up his Accounts and found himself to have been defective in none of these Particulars; the Result of all will certainly be the Character of an *Excellent* and a *Happy Prince*. His Ears will not be bor'd with the Murmurings and Complaints of his Subjects: or however, in the Case of a *Reproach* of this Quality, he may safely answer (with *Alexander*). That it is as natural to a Good Prince to take Care of his People, and of the Commonwealth, as it is for them to be Ungrateful and Unmindful of their Obligations. There never was that man yet that could pretend to please all men: Even winged Feet are not able to outstrip Detraction and Malevolence: and I could wish that this *Distemper* were less predominant in our own Country, than it is at Present.